Vijayanagara Art



R.N. Saletore


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VIJAYANAGARA ART

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

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VIJAYANAGARA ART

R.N. Saletore



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To
Vidya
My daughter

VIJAYA

Pulsating once with life, now desolate,
Who dares to think that you are vanquished quite
Though five barbaric Crescents strove to blight
Your Soul but perished in their storm of hate.
In your renowned and empyrean state
Razzak, Paes, all your splendours saw
As though in some weird dream wondrous awe
And hardly dreamt of your impending fate.
Through treason foul Trishanku-like you fell:
Your Spirit none could conquer, crush or kill
For by your dazzle you have cast a spell
Of immortality on Time and Death
And so we gaze at you with bated breath
For conquered oft you are unconquered still !
O Vijaya, whose name is victory,
Though long forgotten ne'er will darkness cast
Its shadow on the sunshine of your past:
Through large-tongued flames of war you rose to be
Champion of *Dharma*, Dawn of Liberty
And fought dark fiends about you gathered fast
But you remained while they were quenched at last
Since you beheld what none of them could see.
You gave us greatness, Beauty, Quiescense, Life,
For three rich centuries till your bright sun set
But from that bourne woke bondage winged with strife
So how can earth your marvels e'er forget?
Sweet Ushas round you weaves light's aureole
And we bend low in worship to your Soul . .

ABBREVIATIONS

A.S.	Arthaśāstra
A.S.I.R.	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports
A.S.I.R. (N.S.)	Archaeological Survey of India New Series, Annual Reports
B.I.S. (N.S.)	Bibliotheca Indica Series, New Series
D.K.D.	Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts
E.C.	Epigraphia Carnatica
E.I.	Epigraphia Indica
F.E.	Forgotten Empire
G.O.S.	Gaekwad Oriental Series
H.I.S.	Heritage of India Series
I.A.	Indian Antiquary
I.C.	Indian Culture
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly
J.A.O.S.	Journal of the American Oriental Society
J.B.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
J.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Bengal Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
J.B.H.S.	Journal of the Bombay Historical Society
J.B.O.R.S.	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
J.D.L.	Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University
J.I.S.	Journal of Indian History

J.N.S.I.	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India
J.I.S.O.A.	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art
J.O.A.	Journal of Oriental Art
J.O.R.	Journal of Oriental Research
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain
J.U.P.H.S.	Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society
K.H.R.	Karnataka Historical Review
M.A.R.	Mysore Archaeological Survey Report
M.E.R.	Madras Epigraphical Report
M.R.	Modern Review
O.U.P.	Oxford University Press Publication
P.H.A.S.	Pelican History of Art Series
P.H.A.I.	Political History of Ancient India
Q.J.M.S.	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore
S.C.R.	Southern Circle Report
S.I.I.	South Indian Inscriptions
S.P.L.	Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire
T.A.S.R	Travancore Archaeological Survey Report
V.S.C.V.	Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume, Dharwar.

PREFACE

Gustav Le Bon was the first art critic and historian who had suggested that the art of Vijayanagara deserved the attention of scholars. He remarked "I would not sufficiently repeat finally that the city of Bijanagar would be worth a monograph and I strongly recommend to the artists who would be able to devote some months to its study" (*Les Monuments de Le Inde*, p. 162). There are a couple of monographs (cf. Bibliography. viz. Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*; D. Devakunjari, *Hampi*, etc) which are more or less confined to a study of the ruins in the capital. But, so far as I am aware, a full-length study of Vijayanagara art, in all its aspects, has remained a desideratum. In this work I have tried to fulfil Gustav's desire but, when I first decided to tackle this subject, I thought that it would be undesirable and unfair to confine myself only to the city of Vijayanagara and its artistic monuments. This was because the art of Vijayanagara, which was one of the great cultural legacies of its enlightened emperors, was spread over a vast region from the banks of the Kṛṣā down even to Ceylon (Śrī Laṅka) which was once one of their provinces, covering the entire South of India. This empire lasted from A.D. 1346 to 1646 and was a period of eventful sovereignty, comparable with any of the "golden" ages of our history and culture. This art had certain specific characteristics which have distinguished it from the different schools of artistic development in South India. What is more interesting about this cultural activity is that this art almost imperceptibly absorbed several aesthetic features of its preceding schools. I have tried to analyse in this work how such an integration brought about a practically new school of art which eclipsed all other styles in the Dakṣiṇāpatha for centuries.

In this study I have not restricted art to cover its achievements only in the spheres of painting or sculpture but I have included within its ambit the most important of the fine arts, namely, architecture, ornamentation and symbolism, painting, dramaturgy, music and dancing. Each of these arts could be analysed into several of its respective components and treated separately but I have not resorted to that treatment for that is not my object in the present context. However, in the case of architecture I have subdivided it into religious, civil, secular and military to avoid prolixity and overlapping. These subjects of art are hardly identical and individual treatment under the broad heading of architecture appeared to me desirable. The other arts I have examined briefly owing to several reasons.

In this study I have interpreted art in a manner other than the one normally employed by art critics and art historians. Art, excepting in exceptional cases, has invariably been expounded from an almost entirely descriptive and in some cases from an aesthetic, points of view by most art critics. In the present case I have not considered such an approach as either satisfactory or adequate as it leaves much to be desired from a genuine interpretation of art. I feel that art should be understood by a thorough examination of original historical sources, art-forms and art precedents. I have therefore utilised the evidence of history, chronology, numismatics, archaeology, travellers' accounts (invariably contemporary) and literature, of course of the relevant period. Hence I have first furnished a Socio-cultural Perspective of Vijayanagara Art, without understanding which one cannot appreciate or justly estimate the achievement of this school. As this art of Vijayanagara was really a composite one, the vital elements of the different previous styles are described in some detail for a proper assessment of this art. Likewise, in the spheres of iconography, sculpture, ornamentation and symbolism, which played an important role in this art, the same canons of aesthetic criticism have been applied. I feel that, unless the original sources are harnessed in such an assessment, no art can be interpreted satisfactorily.

Some attention has been devoted to the actual creators of this school, namely, the engravers and composers of the these sculptures and the paintings. Some critics may consider such a step either irrelevant or unnecessary in a study of art. But I feel that some details about them and their artistic ideals are requisite in a genuine assessment of this or for that matter, any art.

Finally, arts other than those mentioned earlier, are treated at some length although in these cases too each style could be probably discussed in separate monographs. The chief arts discussed are painting, the theatre, drama, music and dancing. In their treatment too the same norms, applied in regard to the previous arts, have been pressed into service so that the discussion may be uniform. As far as possible, chronology has not been lost sight of for without it any interpretation of art would be merely a rhetorical appreciation of aesthetic values. Finally, let me add that this study is not a result of merely examining photographs or a few specimens of this art, but it was made after personal visits to the localities concern-

ed where the most prominent specimens of this art have fortunately survived. How far my effort has been successful will be for my readers and critics to judge and as far as possible I have adduced reliable evidence in support of my views and inferences.

The photographs in this volume, unless otherwise stated, are my own, excepting in the following cases:

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My thanks are also due to the following: my younger brother Dr G.N. Saletore, M.A. Ph.D., D.A. (Washington), for going through the typescript and offering me his criticism; my wife, for her constant insistence and encouragement to recast and rewrite this book, and lastly, to Mr Swadesh Prasad Singhal, Managing Director, Sundeep Prakashan, Delhi, for readily accepting and quickly publishing this work.

R.N. Saletore

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CHAPTER ONE

CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

BEFORE dealing with the various aspects of Vijayanagara art, covering three centuries of eventful history, namely from A.D. 1346 to 1646, it is essential to know at some length the cultural perspective of this period. This would imply a brief résumé of the political background and the intellectual features and achievements of the relevant rulers of this age.

The Political Background

Towards the close of the first half of the 14th century, the supremacy of the Hoysaḷas was eclipsed by the inroads of the Deccani Muslims. In A.D. 1342 the last representative of the Hoysaḷas, the son of Ballāḷa III (the future Ballāḷa IV), died and their political power practically disappeared. This is evident from an inscription of A.D. 1345, issued by the *Mahānāyakācārya* Vīra Māji Hiriya Pemma Nāyaka, in which his overlord, as was usually the case, is not mentioned.[1] It did not take long for the declaration of independence by Harihara, one of the five brothers, who were the sons of one Saṅgama, after whom the first dynasty of Vijayanagara came to be known. They may well be hailed as the Pañca Pāṇḍava heroes of the Vijayanagara Age, who heralded the freedom of the South and but for them the Deccan would have been completely overrun by the Deccani Muslims who would almost surely have proselytised the entire region to Islam. Harihara or

rather Vīra Hariappa Oḍeya was a governor (*Mahāmaṇḍaḷeśvara*) in A.D. 1340 under the Hoysaḷa king Ballāḷa III.[2] Harihara with his four brothers, viz. Kaṁpa, Bukka, Mārappa and Muddappa, and some nobles and one Ballappa *Daṇḍanāyaka*, went in A.D. 1346 on a pilgrimage to the celebrated Śriṅgeri *Maṭha* where the Pontiff was Bhārata Tīrtha Śrīpāda.[3]

Harihara I, who has been assigned a period of sovereignty from A.D. 1336 to 1343, was succeeded by his third brother Bukka I (1343-79) a valiant warrior, hailed as the virtual progenitor of the Saṅgama dynasty which was in power from A.D. 1346 to 1486-87. Bukka I expired in A.D. 1380,[4] and was succeeded by Harihara II. Among the rulers of the Saṅgama dynasty were Bukka I, Harihara II, Bukka II, Deva Rāya I, Vīra Vijaya, Deva Rāya II, Mallikārjuna, Rājaśekhara I, Virūpākṣa I, Prauḍha Deva Rāya, Rājaśekhara II, Virūpākṣa II and Rājaśekhara III. Many dates of these sovereigns are confusing and full of chronological difficulties.[5] Accounts of their reigns, apart from contemporary incriptions, are furnished by the anti-Hindu Muslim chroniclers like Firishta and foreign travellers like Nuniz who visited the city of Vijayanagara during the reign of Acyuta Rāya (A.D. 1530-42) and wrote his *Chronicle* probably between A.D. 1535 and 1537.[6] Firishta and Nuniz furnish considerable details about these monarchs but most of them were, according to chroniclers like Firishta, either ineffete or sexual perverts or, as asserted by Nuniz, inefficient or senile. Both Firishta and Nuniz, unless corroborated by contemporary inscriptions or indigenous chronicles, are generally unreliable. Among the Saṅgama monarchs the best known was Deva Rāya II (A.D. 1419-49?) and his reign is specially important for Vijayanagara Art because his court was visited by the Persian ambassador Abdur Razzak in 1443[7] and the Italian traveller Nicolo Dei Conti in *circa* A.D. 1420-21[8] respectively. Their accounts throw much light on the various aspects of Vijayanagara life and art during this period. Abdur Razzak was so impressed by what he saw in that city towards the end of April 1443 that he recorded: "The city of Bidjanagar (Vijayanagara) is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything equal to it in the world."[9] Such flattering notices have been recorded of very few cities at any time, anywhere.

The Saṅgama dynasty was followed by the Sāḷuvas whose first representative Narasiṅgha had usurped the throne from the last Saṅgama ruler Virūpākṣa. According to the traveller Nuniz, Virūpākṣa was a despot "caring for nothing but women and to fuddle himself with drink." Seeing this, one of his captains Narasingha (Narasiṁha) won over the generals and the army with presents and attacked his master who fled, leaving the kingdom to Narasiṁha "who had much power and was beloved by the people" so that the kingdom came to be called after him "The Kingdom of Narsymga." He reigned for forty-four years after his usurpation probably in A.D. 1495-96 when one of his inscriptions calls him *Mahā Rāya* or Great King.[10] If he reigned for forty-four years, then his reign must have ended in A.D. 1539. This is untenable because Narasiṁha and his successor Vīra

Narasiṁha must have ruled between 1495-96 and 1509 when Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya commenced to rule. As this period would give only fourteen years for the kings Narasiṁha and Vīra Narasiṁha, Nuniz's hearsay account must be discarded as untenable. Narasiṁha encouraged trade and especially the import of horses from "Oromuz (Ormuz) and Adeem (Aden)" and this is interesting for such horses can so often be seen on the friezes of Vijayanagara even to this day. He paid those merchants "just as they asked" for those horses "dead or alive at three for a thousand *pardaos* and of those that has died at sea, they brought him the tail only, and he paid for it just as if it had been alive."[11] On his death he left two sons in the custody of one "Nasenaque" (Narasa Nāyaka) "the governor of the kingdom." Though Narasa Nāyaka had assured the dying king that both the children would be properly looked after till they came of age, he had them murdered and he usurped the throne.[12]

This usurper and murderer, Nāyaka, was the progenitor of the third dynasty known as the Tuḷuva. In it was born one of the greatest kings called Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya. He was the son of the first Narasiṁha (Narasa Nāyaka). According to Nuniz, Narasa Nāyaka was followed by his eldest son Bhujabala Rāya, who reigned for only six years and he was succeeded by his brother Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya (1509-30). His reign was the most prosperous in South India and art reached its zenith, in the spheres of painting, archaeology and literature. He fought with the king of Orissa whom he defeated and whose daughter Tirumalāṁbā he married.[13] She can be seen along with another co-empress Nāgaladevī (Nāgalāṁbā) in the famous metal statue of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya at Tirupati. During his reign his magnificent court was visited by Domingos Paes (1520-22)[14] whose account throws much light on the artistic achievements of this period. Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya fought continuously with the Sultāns of the Deccan and these five were biding their time to subvert the great Hindu empire. Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya built works of art among which may be named the Kṛṣṇasvāmi, Viṭṭhalasvāmi, Hazāra Rāmasvāmi, and gigantic collossi like the immense image of Ugra Narasiṁha and others which will be dealt with in the chapters on Imagery and Sculpture. The "House of Victory" at Vijayanagara, on which appear so many sculptures depicting such a variety of subjects, according to Paes, was raised on the victorious return of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya from his Orissa campaign.[15] He had a daughter who was married to Rāma Rāya called "*aḷiya*" (son-in-law) and he became the most important figure during the next two reigns. Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya died prematurely, evidently to the great relief of the five Deccani Sultāns, in A.D. 1530.

Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya was succeeded by his brother Acyuta Rāya (A.D. 1530-42) whose reign was marred by the Muslim reconquest of the towns of Mudkal, Raichur and the Doab, which had been the bone of contention during the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya. Acyuta Rāya's earliest inscription is dated the 15th August, 1530 and he too belonged to the Tuḷuva dynasty. During his reign the *aḷiya* Rāma Rāya seized power and he became the *de facto* emperor from 1542, when Acyuta

Rāya expired and his successor Sadāśiva was practically a prisoner in Rāma Rāya's hands till, in the fatal battle of 1565,[16] Rāma Rāya was killed and Sadāśiva survived this catastrophe for two more years of misery.

The emperors shifted their capital from Vijayanagara (now Hampi) to Penukoṇḍa.[17] Caesar Frederick, a traveller, reveals how Rāma Rāya and his two brothers Tirumala and Veṅkaṭādri, who was the Commander-in-chief, had kept the rightful emperors Acyuta and Sadāśiva virtual captives till the unfortunate battle of 1565 on Tuesday, January 23rd.[18] As Caesar Frederick has borne out, the Hindus would not have lost that battle but for the base betrayal of two Muslim commanders in Rāma Rāya's ranks.[19] The luckless Sadāśiva was followed by Tirumala, Rāma Rāya's brother who reigned during A.D. 1567-75. He began the Āravīḍu dynasty which lasted from A.D. 1565 to 1646. There were many rulers in the Āraviḍu (Āravīṭi) dynasty but only some of them were important, as the kings were becoming weaker and weaker until the last vestiges of this unforgettable empire vanished. Among the most prominent of these monarchs after Rāma Rāya (*aḷiya*) were Tirumala I, who had married another daughter of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, named Veṅgalā, Veṅkaṭa I, and Veṅkaṭa II; and they were followed by several others who were more or less titular and left no impression of any type after them.[20] After A.D. 1650 the empire practically broke up. Meanwhile the capital had been shifted from Penukoṇḍa to Candragiri, to Vellore[21] which Mandelslo, a traveller from Holstein, who had visited the Coromandel (*Coḷamaṇḍala*) coast, had seen and he called it Narsinga,[22] after the once famous ruler Narasiṁha mentioned earlier. When the central authority dwindled in the capital, which was being shifted from time to time to escape from the ravages of the invading Muslims of the Deccan, the feudatories raised their heads in their principalities and asserted their independence. They too had to contend with the rapacious Muslims until the rise of Śivāji who stemmed their might and became the champion of the Hindu *Dharma* and the founder of Hindu power which culminated in the establishment of the Marāṭha empire. Among the feudatories, who declared their independence, were the chiefs of Ikkeri or Beḍnūr, the Woḍeyars of Mysore, the Nāyakas of Tanjore (Thanjāvūr) and Madurai. Finally, the end of the great empire came about in 1646. Śrī Raṅga Rāya, fleeing from his Muslim marauders with almost no resources left to fight them, as he had found it almost impossible to check the Muslims any longer, fled at last to his former feudatory the Nāyaka of Beḍnūr in 1646[23] and this marked the real end of the sovereignty of the once all-powerful Vijayanagara empire which had come into existence three centuries ago in 1346.

As will be shown presently, most of the prominent emperors of Vijayanagara were either writers or at least the patrons of letters. Their feudatories followed suit and among such patrons were Viṭhṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyar (A.D. 1447), Irugappa, Sāyaṇācārya, Sāḷuva Gopa Tippa, Lolla Lakṣmīdhara, Cinna Timma Rāya, Vijaya Bhūpati and several others.

Cultural and Literary Affinities

The emperors of Vijayanagara, besides being conquerors and administrators, were also proficient in the arts which they patronised lavishly. This was in conformity with ancient practice and directives. It was laid down in the *Mānasāra* that monarchs should "possess peace of mind, love of fame, good taste in matters of art and fondness of music (*Gandharva Śāstra*)."[24] All these requirements were fully exemplified in the Vijayanagara emperors many of whom were not only writers and poets but were also generous in their bounties to the learned. Mārappa, the fourth son of Saṅgama, in collaboration with his great minister Mādhava, compiled the *Śaivāgama Sāra Saṅgraha*, after comparing the three *Vedas* and the *Purāṇas*. That work was also known as the *Śaivāgama Stotra* in inscriptions. Prince Virūpākṣa also known as Udayagiri Virūpaṇṇa Oḍeyar I, the grandson of Bukka I and the son of Harihara II, was a play-wright and wrote the drama *Nārāyaṇī Vilāsam*. In that play he styles himself a master of all, implying that he must have been an accomplished monarch.[25] Deva Rāya's son, Vijaya Bhūpāla, presented the village Kṛṣṇaśaktipura to the Vedic scholar Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita.[26] During the reign of Mallikārjuna a general named Gurayya met a Vīra Śaiva poet, Candra, also known as Candraśekhara reputed proficient in eight languages (not specified) and, at his request, composed two poems *Virūpākṣasthānaṁ* and *Gurumūrti Śaṅkara Śatakaṁ*.[27]

Women Scholars and Writers

Women like men were also scholars and writers from early times. Among the Hoysaḷas for instance, even common women were poetesses. In A.D. 1160 there lived two Vīra Śaiva poetesses named Mahādevī[28] and Bijjaḷa Devī.[29] In the Vijayanagara age such women were not scarce. An inscription of A.D. 1378 extols Honnāyi, the queen of Bukka Rāya, as a scholar.[30] One of the wives of his son Kaṁpa Rāya named Gaṅgā Devī, composed the poem *Kaṁparāyacaritaṁ*, describing the military exploits of her husband in the South.[31] Her *Madhurāvijayaṁ* records his conquest of Madurai.[32] Harihara's chief queen Gaurāmbikā excelled the *apsarases* in song and music.[33] Tukkā, the Oriya wife of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, is credited with the authorship of a few verses.[34]

Saṅgama Patronage of Literati

During the regime of the Saṅgama dynasty the emperors of Vijayanagara patronised learning and the arts. In the reign of Saṅgama II there existed the traditional jester, Bhoganātha honoured with the title of *Nāmasaciva* in the Biṭraguṇṭa grant.[35] Harihara I made gifts of land, for the continual recitation of the *Vedas* and the *Śāstras* in the temple of Harihareśvara, to Liṅgarasa and other learned

scholars, who were Brāhmaṇas. Bukka I granted a village to the great poet Nācana Soma "versed in the meaning of the eighteen *Purāṇas* and a poet in eight languages." The former statement implies that he must have interpreted the eighteen *Purāṇas* as he read them out to his audience but which were the eight languages are not specified unless it is to be taken as a purely conventional statement implying that he knew many languages, in which he could compose verses. In A.D. 1388 Bukka II issued an order in his court to one master of ten sciences, the hydraulic engineer (*jala sūtra*) Siṅgaya Bhaṭa that he should "bring the Henne river to Penugoṇḍa."[36] Whether he complied with this command and how he did so we do not know but it is interesting to note that hydraulic engineering was one of the arts patronised during this period. Whether he employed the system of canals or pipes of which many can still be seen among the ruins of Vijayanagara is unknown. But in all likelihood he must have had recourse to the excavation of canals for the execution of such an engineering feat.

The love of literature was always cultivated in this period as can be seen from their grants. In the inscriptions of Harihara I and Irugappa verses are cited from the *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas*. On the rewards of grants of land and the penalties for resuming it, were quoted the words of Rāma; "by Sagara and many kings, Āditya" and similar quotations[37] which were transcribed in the beginning of each grant. Such quotations must have been inscribed in order to infuse respect for the king's order in bestowing the land and in instilling the fear of God's curse on possible thieves who could revoke the monarch's orders.

Mallikārjuna had for his chief minister a learned noble named Lakkaṇṇa Daṇḍeśa styled the "Master of Three Kings and the Tamer of Elephants" who was on very intimate terms with the emperor.[38] Whether he was a general and had conquered three monarchs, who are not mentioned and whether he was a real elephant hunter or one who could tame wild elephants, is also not revealed but, unless there were some such valid reasons, that title would hardly have been bestowed on that noble. There were many other court poets during this ruler's reign. A *Daṇḍanāyaka* (an officer with magisterial powers) of this emperor, called Jakkaṇārya was a renowned poet and honoured as the "Treasure of Wisdom". He is included among the hundred and one Vīra Śaiva leaders who had graced the court of Mallikārjuna[39] and it has been held that Gurubasava was a very famous Vīra Śaiva poet of Mallikārjuna's court.[40] There was another Jaina poet Honnabaṅdi who hailed from the Beḷuvalanāḍu in the Kuṅtaḷa Deśa, where he was the manager of a Jaina shrine (*basadi*) named Śāṅtinātha *Basti*.[41] This discloses that an administrator could also be a votary of the Muses. The poet Gaṅgādhara was also a member of his court and Mallikārjuna made inquiries about him after his return from a triumphant military campaign.[42] Another poet, a Jaina by religion, named Nemicaṅdra, is claimed to have defeated all the learned men in Mallikārjuna's court and obtained from him a certificate of merit (*jayapatra*).[43] This implies that a sort of competition prevailed among well-known scholars to

decide who was the most learned among them all but which were the criteria in such contests are not known. Some light is sometimes thrown on such trials. The triumph of Cāmarasa over Kumāravyāsa[44] is a case in point. The former completed his *Prabhuliṅgalīlā* within eleven days and won from his master Mallikārjuna the envied necklace and wristlet.[45] Probably such competitions were common in those days.

Sāḷuva Encouragement of Letters

During the second dynasty of the Sāḷuvas the patronage of letters continued. Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, himself a poet, had a number of scholars in his court. One day, it is recorded, one of them requested him to display his scholarship by composing a poem (*kāvya*) on the life of Rāma and the result was the *Rāmābhyudaya*.[46] He seems to have had a friend in Śrīpādarāya, a Madhva poet, the head of the Padmanābhatīrtha *Maṭha* in Muḷbāgil and in his works (*kīrtanas*) is included a notable poem called *Raṅgaviṭhala*.[47] Another of his court poets was Kaviliṅga, probably a Vīra Śaiva, proficient in the *Kāma Śāstras* and he has eulogized his patron with great enthusiasm and he is well-known in Kannaḍa literature as the author of the poem "*The Song of Kaviliṅga*."[48]

Some Sāḷuva patrons of literature must not be forgotten. Sāḷva (Sāḷuva) Gopa Tippa, a scholar of renown, was a great patron of Tamil literature and there exist verses sung in his praise by the poet Kālameghappuḷavār and the poets Mūḍusūryār and Iḷaṅgūryār both of whom were usually referred to as the Iraṭṭiyār or the Twins.[49] Narasa Nāyaka, the general of Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, was a patron of letters. To him was dedicated in collaboration by two poets Naṅdi Mallaya and Ghaṅṭa Siṅgaya, a Telugu poem entitled the *Varāha Purāṇam*.

Tuḷuva Benefactors of Scholarship

During the third dynasty, Tuḷuva, the love and patronage of letters reached its zenith. In this line the most eminent monarch was the great Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya (1509-30), himself a poet and a great patron of literature. Though from the Tuḷu Nāḍu (modern South Kanara District, Karnāṭaka) he was well-versed in Telugu and Sanskrit. He composed the well-known poem *Āmuktamālyadā* in Telugu and reveals in it how at Śrīkākulam god Āṅdhra Madhusūdhana (Āndhra Viṣṇu) inspired him to compose in that language the story of Godā (Āṅḍāl), the daughter of Viṣṇu Citta Periyāḷvar, one of the twelve Śrī Vaiṣṇava saints. In that poem he recounts his works in Sanskrit, which unfortunately are lost, although a play *Jāṁbavatī Kalyāṇam* in Sanskrit is ascribed to him.[50]

Ladies in Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's court were also enlightened. According to tradition Tukkā, a daughter of the Oriya king Pratāpa Rudra Gajapati, married to Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, a fact corroborated by the foreign chronicler Paes,[51] was also a poet. In the five verses ascribed to her she bemoans her husband's neglect of

her. Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's daughter wrote a poem *Mārīcipariṇayam*.[52] His wives interested themselves in poetry. Nandi Timmayya in his *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* depicts the emperor with his queens hearing the works composed by the poets assembled at his court during the Spring Festival (*Vasantotsava*).[53]

Besides being a scholar in Telugu and Sanskrit, Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya was like the great Samudra Gupta an expert player on the *vīṇā*, and a liberal patron. Timmaṇa, a poet, relates in his *Bhārata* how he was commanded by his master to compose that poem. The details in which he narrates how he was encouraged to complete the work of Kumāravyāsa, throw further light on that monarch's literary patronage. He sat in his court and, after hearing the poem *Bhārata*, called Timmaṇa, praised him and presented with rich clothes and other valuables. He also requested the poet to complete the remaining eight chapters of Kumāravyāsa's *Bhārata* which had been left incomplete after ten chapters of it had been composed, so that he might win the admiration of all his listeners. Thus, the king added, the poet might mingle the stream of his music with that of Kumāravyāsa's even as the Ganges joins the Jamuna and so continue the eternal stream of poetry since that monarch considered this as the great treasure of piety.[54]

There were several other poets and scholars in Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's court. In A.D. 1524 he granted the village of Pengalabanda to Narasiṁhadvāraśarma, who had mastered all the *Śāstras* and had performed the *Sarvakratu* sacrifice. That emperor also presented the village of Nāgulavaram to a Brāhmaṇa astronomer named Sūrabhaṭa on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.[55] Peddaṇa, Timmaṇa, Mallaya, his favourite poets, accompanied him even during his military campaigns, according to Dhūrjaṭi, another jewel, who had graced his court.[56] Thus this great monarch lived while his mind was "occupied with the highly revered assemblies of wise men who had mastered the ocean-like sciences of words."[57] Mention is made of Vallabhācārya and Vyāsarāya who was granted the unique privilege to occupy the emperor's diamond throne and bathed with jewels and precious stones.[58] Even the king's daughter was a lover of literature and is alleged to have purchased four stanzas of the poem *Kavikarṇaśayana* at the rate of about one thousand rupees per stanza.[59]

Lolla Lakṣmīdhara was another prominent scholar of this period. He wrote books on astronomy, astrology, the *Mantra Śāstra*, the six *Darśanas* (religious schools of philosophy) and law. He is believed by some to have been the real author of that treatise on law called *Sarasvatīvilāsam*, ascribed to Pratāparudra. He enumerates this work, among his other works, in the colophon of his commentary on the *Saundaryalaharī*. He was also the author of a portion of the encyclopaedic book on astrology, astronomy and allied subjects entitled *Jyotiṣa Darpaṇa*.[60]

During the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya some other benefactors may be mentioned. Viśvanātha Nāyaka, a feudatory, must have been a patron of literature for the *Rāyavācakamu* is evidently dedicated to him.[61] Even subsequent to Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's reign, until the Tuḷuva dynasty was eclipsed, this patronage continued.[62] About A.D. 1560 the chiefs of Bījāvara became zealous promoters of knowledge.

In this century the poet Ekāmbaranātha wandered all the way to Cennapaṭna within the territory of the Viceroy of Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa and dedicated a poem to the governor of the district Immaḍi Aṅkuśa, the brother of Jagadeva Rāya of Cennapaṭna. The same poet, inscribed another of his works called *Satyapariṇayam* to the same governor.[63]

Ladies in this period were not lagging behind in literary accomplishment. Acyutarāya's gift of Suvarṇameru was composed in Sanskrit verse by the courtreader Oduva Tirumalāmbā the author of the *Kāvya Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* depicting the wedding of Acyuta Rāya with Varadāmbā. They are considered to be probably identical, apparently owing to the similarity of their names. It has also been conjectured that another poetess Mohanāṅgī, who had composed the love-poem *Mārīcipariṇayam*, might have been the surname of Tirumalāmbā, the wife of Rāma Rāya and the daughter of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya.[64] This suggestion, however, requires corroboration.

Āravīḍu Scholars and Patrons of Literature

The fourth dynasty, Āravīḍu (Āravīṭi), also produced royal scholars and patrons of literature and the fine arts. Rāma Rāya could compose verse and he is praised as a "king Bhoja in exercising his imperial sway over the sentiments of poetry." Like Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, Rāma Rāya was also a musician. The *Svaramela Kalānidhi* tells us how in a palace called *Ratna Kūṭa*, which he had specially built, Rāma Rāya spent his time, apparently when he was free from his administrative duties, in the midst of scholars versed in *sāhitya* (literature), music and other arts.[65] Like another Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, Rāma Rāya is reminiscent of the Mughal emperor Akbar who spent his leisure in the *Ibādat Khāna* which he had specially built for such purposes.[66] Rāma Rāya was not only a student of politics, but also a musician. A grant of the time of Veṅkaṭa II, in A.D. 1589 adds that Rāma Rāya took great pleasure in playing on the *vīṇā* and also in vocal music.[67] He was moreover interested in *Śāstric* studies. Mention is made how Rāma Rāya with his preceptor (*guru*), Tātācārya, the son of Śrīnivāsa, went to Caṅdragiri to spend some days in that sacred place in retirement dedicated to the study of the *Śāstras*.[68]

This powerful Regent was a great patron of scholars, especially of poets. The well-known scholar Rāmānuja was one of his protégés and the emperor Sadāśiva at Rāma Rāya's request made in 1556, some grants to him.[69] In his *Svaramelakalānidhi*, Rāmāyamātya, another of Rāma Rāya's court poets, remembers how he was made the Viceroy of Koṇḍavīḍu "bordering on the eastern seas," thus enabling him to bestow many grants on Brāhmaṇas.[70] There were also other scholars round Rāma Rāya. The Madhva teacher Vijayīṅdra, the successor of Sureṅdra, "well versed in several arts" and author of several works, was also patronised by Rāma Rāya, who honoured him with "jewel baths" and presentation of villages.[71] Śaṣṭa Parāṅkuśa of the Ahobala *Maṭha*, the author of *Siddhāṅtamaṇidīpam*, *Pañcakalādīpikā*, *Prāpaṭṭi Prayoga*, *Nṛsiṁhatatva* and other works, was another prominent member of his

court. But apart from all such writers and scholars, just as Allasana Peddana was in Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's court, Bhaṭṭu Mūrti also known as *Rāmarāja-bhūṣaṇa* was the "jewel of the court of Rāma Rāya."[72] Surrounded by these, in the latter part of his life, Rāma Rāya, according to the quack doctor and traveller, Manucci, who is not always reliable, a century later, "led a happy life without attending to the government or taking any notice of what went on."[73] This vague and baseless assertion of Manucci is unacceptable, for it has not been corroborated.

Rāma Rāya's successor Tirumala was an ardent lover of scholarship like many of his predecessors. He too was honoured as a Bhoja in the Kṛṣṇapuram plates.[74] He too was surrounded by pious and loving priests, attendants and different wise men who followed the ways laid down in the *Vedas* and were highly educated. Tirumala was an enthusiastic patron of savants. To commemorate the first death anniversary of his father, he granted the village of Jillelamuḍuku to a scholarly Brāhmaṇa Śrīnivāsācārya.[75] He bestowed an entire village to Brāhmaṇas deeply learned in the *Śāstras* and the *Vedas* and presented 128 *vṛttis* of land for the study of the *Ṛgveda* and *Yajurveda*.[76] When he was the Viceroy of Śrīraṅgapaṭṭana he had as one of his officers, Rāmānujayya styled "the establisher of the path of the *Vedas*, follower of both *Vedāntas*."[77] In A D. 1614 Tirumala granted a village to one Veṅgaḍeyya Bhaṭṭa, also called an "establisher of the path of the *Vedas*."[78] Another of his subordinates was Bhaṭṭu Mūrti who dedicated to him his great work, the *Vasucaritamu*.[79] Once Tirumala requested his court poets to compose verses describing him and yet being true to nature. So Bhaṭṭu Mūrti in his *Caṭu* verses compared Tirumala and his wife to the god Śiva and his consort Pārvati, when they sat together and Tirumala alone to Śukrācārya, the preceptor of the demons (*Asuras*), as Tirumala had lost one of his eyes in the cataclysmic battle of 1565.[80] It is by such unabashed flattery that some scholars managed to retain the patronage of kings like Tirumala.

His successor Veṅkaṭādri, once more styled 'Bhoja' in the Kallakursi grant, is also remembered as the patron of poets.[81] One of his writers, Tallapaka Tiruveṅgalanātha, composed the *Paramayogavilāsamu*. At his instance Rāma Rāya is alleged to have commanded Rāmāyamātya to compose that treatise on music, the *Svaramelakalānidhi*.[82]

Raṅga I was no exception to this love of letters. He requested Bhaṭṭākalaṅka to write his *Śaratraya*.[83] An officer of his court *Rāyasam* Veṅkaṭapati, the author of the Telugu poem *Lakṣmīvilāsam*, was one of his court poets.[84] *Rāyasa* Ahobala, another of his officers, wrote a play in Sanskrit named *Kuvalaya Vilāsa*.[85] Tirumala continued to foster that atmosphere of scholarship in his court like many of his predecessors and that was the main reason for the survival of the arts in that period.

But the brightest patron among the Āravīḍu rulers was Veṅkaṭa II just as Mallikārjuna was among the Sāḷuvas and Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya among the Tuḷuva monarchs. The Maṅgalampāḍ grant describes him as "devoted to the protection of the learned,"[86] and "a very moon to the lotuses" which were scholars.[87] A consum-

mate master of Sanskrit, he had disputations about God, philosophy and mathematics with teachers or philosophers almost every day.[88] It is therefore no wonder that the Daḷavāy Agrahāram plates claim that he was "comparable to the ocean in profundity in learning."[89] In A.D. 1612 he made a grant to a number of scholars at Vapuṭūr.[90] He bestowed the Vilapaka grant on Tiruveṅgalanātharya of Virpuṭūr, conversant with the eighteen *Purāṇas*.[91] Śrī Jagannātha Rāya, son of Gagganātha Rāya "the foremost of the students of the *Yajus Śākhā*, was presented with the village of Maṅgalaṁpāḍ. Sudīndra, the successor of Vijeṅdra. who conquered all his opponents in Veṅkaṭa's court was gifted by the sovereign with the conch and other emblems of triumph.[92] His own preceptor (*guru*), entitled the 'Ornament of the Wise,'[93] wrote the *Sātvikabrahma-vidyāvilāsa* and the *Pāṇḍuraṅga-Mahātmya*.[94] Another bard, Cennamarāju, carried from Veṅkaṭa II, the triumphal banner of Garuḍanārāyaṇa, a costly red elephant, a valuable horse, a necklace called *vīra-malahari*, a square pendant on the breast named *tāḷi-caukaṭṭu*, bangles made of pearl, the anklet *gaṇḍapeṇḍāraṁ* and a sword ornamented with a tassel at its hilt, all being the insignia of his position at court, to his patron Pemmasani Timma who honoured the poet by giving him a white turban, the white chanks, a palanquin and the *tāḷi-caukaṭṭu*.[95] Tennāli Rāmakṛṣṇa, the well-known wit, remembered even today for his humour, was also a poet who composed the *Liṅgapurāṇam* and honoured as one of his court poets. The celebrated general Veṅkaṭa Māṭla Anaṅta, to whom the Sidhout inscription ascribes the *Kākusthavijayaṁ* and other literary compositions, was another prominent figure in Veṅkaṭa's court.[96] Ayalu Bhāskara was such a versatile writer that he satisfied Venkaṭa once by translating a most heterogenous medley of different subjects from old Kannaḍa into Telugu, displaying his mastery of both those languages, the work of a writer, Raṭṭa.[97] Tarigoppula Mallaṇa, the author of *Caṅdrabhānu Caritraṁ* was also a member of Veṅkaṭa's court.[98] With these may be mentioned, two grammarians, Erra Mādhavārya, who wrote the *Tripadadyotini* and was one of Veṅkaṭa's tutors[99] and Bhaṭṭākalaṅka, who composed the *Śabdānuśāsana*.[100]

Cultural and Literary Affinities of the Feudatories

Like their masters and patrons, many feudatories of the Vijayanagara emperors had literary tastes and patronised scholarship. Mādarasa Oḍeyār was a Śaiva scholar and a contemporary of Mādhavācārya Vidyāraṇya, the master of the Male *Rājya*[101] Viṭhṭhaṇṇa Oḍeyār was recognised by all people as proficient in music and acknowledged widely as such among scholars.[102] Baica, the Jaina minister of Harihara II, had a son called Iruga, reputed to be the author of the lexicon *Nānāratnamālā*, which was, however, actually written by his protégé, Bhāskara.[103] Sāyaṇācārya, another minister of Bukka, was also a capable scholar. At his master's direction he wrote his commentary on the Vedas and his *Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti*, dedicated to the prince Saṅgama, son of Kaṁpa, the second of the five

brothers who had founded Vijayanagara. Sāḷuva Gopa Tippa, the grandson of Gopa Tippa, who had married Harimā, elder sister of Deva Rāya II and the son of Sāḷuva Gopa, was not only a great warrior but also a sound and deep scholar. He wrote a commentary on Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkāra Sūtra* called *Kāmadhenu*.[104] He was also well-versed in music and dancing, and is considered the author of a treatise on music styled *Tāḷadīpikā*.[105]

Under the Sāḷuvas, whose literary inclinations and patronage have already been noticed to some extent, there was a general named Narasa Nāyaka serving under the monarch Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, and he too patronised poets. To him was dedicated a Telugu poem entitled the *Varāha Purāṇam*, by two of his protégés, the poets Naṅdi Mallaya and Ghaṅṭa Siṅgaya.[106]

In A.D. 1595 Acyutappa Nāyaka of Tanjore (Thanjāvūr), whose predecessor Śivappa Nāyaka and his successors were ardent lovers of literature, made a donation for the merit of Appaya Dīkṣita.[107] His minister Govinda Dīkṣita, a well-known philosopher, composed a long epic poem and another treatise on music, *Saṅgīta-sūktanidhi*. At his master's request he translated it from Sanskrit in which it was written,[108] into Tamil, revealing his mastery of both languages. This is a notable example of his versatility and scholarship. In the same era Sūrappa Nāyaka of Jinji entertained in his court that prolific epic poet and dramatist Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita and honoured him as *Ratna Kheta* for the excellence of his verse. The author of eighteen plays and sixty epics, he also wrote many works on rhetoric and various commentaries.[109] Cinna Bomma Nāyaka of Vellore bestowed his special favour on this *Advaita* philosopher by performing with his own hands the *kanakābhiṣeka* (bathing with gold) ceremony.[110] In A.D. 1600 Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka of Ikkeri directed his protégé, the poet Tirumala Bhaṭṭa, to compose his *Śivagītā*.[111] Veṅkaṭappa's grandson Vīrabhadra granted a *bhūdāna* (land-gift) to this Tirumala Bhaṭṭa's son Śaṁbhuliṅga Bhaṭṭa, presumably also a scholar. In A.D. 1610 Fr de Nobili saw in Madurai the noted "*saṅgams*" stating that more than ten thousand students attended them.[112] This figure need not be taken as literally correct for obviously it must have been from hearsay and smacks of exaggeration.

Some of the Nāyakas were also erudite. In A.D. 1700 Basavappa Nāyaka translated into Sanskrit and Kannaḍa the *Sūktisudhāraka*.[113] Another chief of Ikkeri Saṅkaṇṇa Nāyaka is considered the author of many works,[114] as mentioned in the encyclopaedic *Śivatattvaratnākara* written by another Ikkeri Nāyaka, Basava Bhūpāla.[115] In A.D. 1614 the noble Mummaḍe Tamme Gauḍa of Sagaṭūr, was recognised as a scholar and poet.[116] Such nobles were broad-minded and had a wide concept of culture. Nāgamma Nāyaka, for instance, taught his son everything to render him able and intelligent, including fencing and the use of weapons.[117] Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore, according to Rāmabhadrāṁbā in her poem *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, convened an assembly of scholars to test the accomplished ladies of his court. They were found efficient in composing four kinds of poetry, viz., *citra*, *baṅdha*, *garba* and *āśu*, in explaining works written in various languages, skil-

ful in the art of *śatalekhiṇi*, solving puzzles (*padya-purāṇam*), could declaim verses at the rate of one hundred in one hour (*ghaṭika-śata*), compose poetry in eight languages (Sanskrit, Telugu, and the six Prākṛts), knew how to interpret and explain poems and plays (*kāvya-nāṭaka*) written by famous writers and explain the secret of two types of music (Karnāṭaka and Deśa). They could also sing very sweetly, play on the *vīṇā* and other instruments like the *rāvaṇa-hasta*. Raghunātha examined their proficiency and then honoured them with the *kanakābhiṣeka* (gold bath).[118]

The Basic Influences of Vijayanagara Art

The Vijayanagara emperors and many of their feudatories, as noticed already, were not only learned and patrons of scholarship, but they were mostly tolerant in their religious outlook and that is why within their empire, different types of architecture, sculpture and painting flourished. The mainspring of this school of art was religion and therefore it is essential to specify the different religious influences which affected it. They were mainly Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Jainsim, Islam and to some extent Christianity. Each of these faiths prevailed in the Vijayanagara empire for considerable periods and it is necessary to determine how far they affected their artistic achievements.

Religious Eclecticism

Throughout the Vijayanagara period of three centuries, which were marked by different types of religious excitement, a remarkable spirit of toleration pervailed. The sovereigns adopted generally an attitude of compromise and insisted on peaceful living by the various sects and this spirit paved the way to a revival in their art.

Śaivism

As early as A.D. 1347 this spirit of forbearance sprang into existence. In an inscription of Vīra Mārappa Voḍeyar obeisance is made to Virūpākṣa (Śiva) and also to Śambhu and Boar (Varāha *avatāra* of Viṣṇu).[119] His brother Bukka I was similarly tolerant for he invoked Gaṇeśa and the Boar simultaneously.[120] He effected a notable compromise between the Jainas and Vaiṣṇavas in A.D. 1368, revealing once more his characteristic toleration.[121] In A.D. 1380 Bukka II, Śaivite, called upon the Boar.[122] A similar tendency of Harihara II can be seen in many of his epigraphs. He permitted the Jainas also to live in peace,[123] for he allowed Irugappa Daṇḍanātha to build a Jaina temple (*basadi*) at Vijayanagara, a Śaivite centre, because the colophons of the inscriptions of this dynasty record the name of the god Virūpākṣa, an appellation of god Śiva himself.[124] Deva Rāya I continued the tolerant policy of his forefathers, and the first inscription of his reign in A.D. 1406, sings the praises of Gaṇeśa and the Boar.[125] He continued this attitude and

in A.D. 1415, four years prior to his demise, an inscription invokes these two deities again.[126] Deva Rāya II eulogised Śambhu and Kṛṣṇa in A.D. 1421[127] and even in A.D. 1448 he praised the Boar and Gaṇapati.[128] Mallikārjuna, also called Immaḍi Deva Rāya, who had made in A.D. 1455, obeisance to Gaṇapati and the Boar,[129] veered towards Vaiṣṇavism in A.D. 1463 when only the Gaṇādhipati was invoked while the Boar was called upon for protection.[130] In A.D. 1468, during the reign of king Virūpākṣa, one Deva Rāya, son of Siṅgaṇṇa Woḍeyar of Nāgamaṅgala made a grant of land to god Rāmacandra.[131]

But Śaivism did not perish during later reigns. The usurper Vīra Narasimha in A.D. 1506 made gifts in the temple of Virūpākṣa as well at Veṅkaṭādri and Śrīraṅgam.[132]

The reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya saw the blossoming of toleration which had become a tradition by then. Though personally he was in favour of Vaiṣṇavism, he respected all sects and religions. He lavished munificent gifts, on Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava, Jaina and Bauddha shrines.[133] This is supported by an inscription from Shimoga.[134] He even favoured Christianity. An anonymous traveller's letter from Venice to Ser Zuane di Santi, dated 10th November, 1511, reveals that "It seems that King Narasiṅga (Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya) was very near becoming a Christian."[135] This is no doubt absurd but it discloses that he tolerated the Christian faith. His successor Acyuta Rāya, following his tradition, invoked the Boar and Gaṇeśa in his first inscription.[136] Under him five years later Tirumala Rāya granted gifts to god Sampat Kumār Nārāyaṇa of the Yādava Hill,[137] and this spirit of toleration was maintained till A.D. 1541. His successor Sadāśiva Rāya slowly began to lean towards Vaiṣṇavism, making several gifts to Vaiṣṇava shrines. He granted many villages to Rāmānuja's followers.[138] Still he was a lenient ruler and in A.D. 1559 he kept such faith with the perfidious Portuguese that, according to Couto, his humanity and justice were not to be found even among the Christians.[139]

During the regime of Āravīḍu monarchs also this policy of toleration continued. In A.D. 1562, a Śiva *Śāsana* was expected to endure.[140] The Yeḷahaṅka Nāḍ Prabhu Kempe Gauḍa I adopted after his captivity at Ānegundi, instead of his cult of Bhīre Deva, the worship of Śiva and built a temple to Viṣṇu in the Bangalore fort.[141] Tirumala, in an inscription, though a Vaiṣṇavite, mentions the Śaivite teacher Ananta Śivācārya,[142] granting one *vṛtti* of the Penugulūru grant to the local shrines of Viṣṇu and Śiva.[143] During the reign of Raṅga I and especially during Veṅkaṭa II, the great Vaiṣṇava emperor or the Āravīḍu dynasty, not only was the old usage of invoking Viṣṇu and Śiva in the beginning of their grants continued, but they still persisted in signing their grants with that old and favourite name of their deity, Śrī Virūpākṣa, the name of the guardian god of the old empire. The Vijayanagara throne was "still believed to be under the blessed guardianship of the wings of Virūpākṣa."[144] The effect of this spirit of catholicity led in the 15th and 16th centuries to a relaxation of the bonds of orthodoxy among the common people and spared for posterity the works of art of these different creeds. During the

reign of Raṅga I, this toleration led fanatics like the Haṇḍe chiefs of Anantapur to spoliation. These fierce Śaivites joined hands with Ibrahim Shah of Golconda in criminally sacking the Vaiṣṇava temple of Ahobalam.[145]

Finally, during the reign of Veṅkaṭa I when Vaiṣṇavism was the professed creed of the Royal House, the distant principalities remained in many cases Śaivite. The Nāyakas of Vellore, Ikkeri, Uḷḷāḷ and others were still the adherents of this faith. Liṅgama Nāyaka, the last member of the Vellore Nāyakas, was "engaged in establishing *liṅgas* of Śiva."[146] The Ikkeri Nāyakas were zealous Śaivites or better, Liṅgāyats. They had among their titles *Viśuddha Vaidikādvaita Siddhānta Pratiṣṭhāpaka* (Establisher of the Pure *Vaidika Advaita* doctrine and *Śiva Guru Bhakti Pārāyaṇa*), implying their faith in Śiva and the *Guru*. Most of their grants were made to Liṅgāyat shrines (*maṭhas*) or for remitting transit dues on articles carried on pack bullocks for the use of such *maṭhas*.[147] They were so enthusiastic that they are said to have converted even many Jainas to their creed, especially the successors of Vīra Pāṇḍya.[148] Keḷadi Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka in a grant of A.D. 1592 calls himself the feudatory of Veṅkaṭapati Rāya "devoted to Śiva and *Gurus*."[149] Della Valle heard that the family deity of "Abaga Devi" (Abbakka Devī), the Queen of Uḷḷāḷ, was "Puttia Somnata" (Somanātha).[150] In A.D. 1612 one Nañja Rāja Oḍeyar made some grants to Śiva.[151]

Vaiṣṇavism

Even during the tenure of the first dynasty in Vijayanagara, Vaiṣṇavism, suriving along with Śaivism, had not gained ascendancy. In A.D. 1368 the Vaiṣṇavites fought furiously with the Jainas but thereafter there was a spell of peace.[152] Vaiṣṇavites were trying hard to oust Śaivism by various means. According to the *Prāpannāmṛtaṁ* by Narasiṁhācārya and his brother, a legend was current that two brothers, riding a palace of ghosts, so impressed Virūpākṣa that he forsook his Śaiva faith. Such fictions cannot be given any credence. His successors continued to follow this creed. Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya was eclectic in his views. In A D. 1534, Acyuta Rāya, who had become a confirmed Vaiṣṇavite, gifted some land to two Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇas who had recited a *Purāṇa* in the Viṭṭhaleśvara temple.[153] He called his son Veṅkaṭādri because he was believed to have been born through the grace of the god of Tirupati.[154] His establishment of the Nāyakaship of Madurai under Viśvanātha and his successors marked for the southern dominions a flourishing period of Vaiṣṇavism.[155] Sadāśiva, also a fervent Vaiṣṇavite, bestowed in A.D. 1556 on the adherents of Rāmānuja, thirty-one villages.[156] To continue this cult of Viṣṇu in A.D. 1568 at the request of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka of Madurai to the temple of Tiruveṅkaṭanātha, he granted the village of Kṛṣṇapuram.[157] His inscriptions refer to several Vaiṣṇava teachers.[158] His chieftains also favoured Vaiṣṇavism. A grant of A.D. 1567 mentions a gift from a chief of Karnul of some offerings to twelve Śrī Vaiṣṇava mendicants.[159]

The Āravīḍu dynasty was staunchly Vaiṣṇavite. Rāma Rāya was an enthusiastic worshipper of Viṣṇu like his master Sadāśiva Rāya. This is not strange for the founders of the Āravīḍu family, as the Daḷavāy Agrahāram plates of Veṅkaṭa II record, were strict Vaiṣṇavas.[160] Rāma Rāya's enthusiasm was such that with his Śrī Vaiṣṇava *guru* (teacher) Tātācārya, he assisted Mahācārya who had defeated all Śaiva scholars at Chidambaram, to reinstall the image of Goviṅda Rāja in its original seat at Chidambaram[161] from where it was removed under the orders of the Coḷa monarch Kulottuṅga II.[162]

Rāma Rāya's successor, Tirumala, a great devotee of Viṣṇu, was "a repository of nectar-like devotion to Hari (Viṣṇu)."[163] In A.D. 1568 he made two grants to a Vaiṣṇava shrine at Khairuwalla, Karnul.[164] Tirumala changed the royal signature in his grants from the name of Śrī Virūpākṣa to Rāmacaṅdra first in the temple of the Penukoṇḍa[165] fort and the latter became his favourite deity, at least according to his supposed commentary on the *Gīta Goviṅda*.[166] His Vaiṣṇavism naturally manifested itself on his coins and the so-called Svāmi Pagoda, first coined by Tirumala, discloses three figures, one standing in the centre with two others on either side, seated, most probably representing Veṅkaṭeśvara and his two wives.[167] Tirumala's successor Raṅga II was like his father a devotee of Viṣṇu, bearing in his heart Śārṅgadhara (Viṣṇu) and he is also called a devotee of Rāmacaṅdra.[168] He restored the Ahobalam temple dedicated to Viṣṇu.[169]

Probably Vaiṣṇavism reached its zenith during the reign of Veṅkaṭa II and he adopted the royal signature of Śrī Veṅkaṭeśa in his grants,[170] one of the forms of Viṣṇu, discarding once for all the time-honoured Śrī Virūpākṣa and the dual invocation to Śaṁbhu and Gaṇapati. Almost all his grants are issued in the name of Veṅkaṭeśa of Tirupati and this influence can be seen on his coins. The Veṅkaṭapati pagoda, for instance, discloses on its obverse Viṣṇu standing under an arch while the reverse shows in *nāgarī* the salutation to Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara.[171]

His subordinates in their provinces spread the faith of their sovereign. Veṅkaṭa II in A.D. 1597 granted two villages in the Madura district to many Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇās at the request of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka of Madurai.[172] Veṅkaṭeśa, a nephew of Tirumala, the Viceroy at Śrīraṅgapatnam, began one of his decrees with an obeisance to Rāmānuja, the harbinger of Vaiṣṇavism.[173]

The subjects naturally followed suit. In A.D. 1609 some merchants of Āravīḍu made a gift of seven gold-gilted pinnacles for the huge *gopuram* of the Vīra Narasiṁha temple at Diguva Tirupati.

The effects on Vijayanagara sculpture of Vaiṣṇavism were certainly as remarkable as those of Śaivism. This was probably because the Vijayanagara sculptors lavished all their skill on the walls of their temples rather than on the ornamentation and perfection of their imagery. Vijayanagara is full of Vaiṣṇava associations for which the followers of Viṣṇu alone are responsible. Just near the other end of the "Dancing Girls' Street," the paved path leads to an entrance called the Raghunaṅdana Tīrthasvāmi Cave. This is pointed out as a temporary residence

of Sītā, the heroine of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. This is obviously fictitious and some other remains are shown near by. A little further is a tank named Sītāsarovara while a natural cavity in a rock, known as Sītā's mark, is believed to have been caused by her garment as it fell probably during her flight. Close to this, across the river Tuṅgabhadrā, the wrecks of an ancient bridge lead to a range of hills on the opposite bank, believed to be residence of Vasiṣṭha, and hence named *Vasiṣṭhāśrama*. All these must be considered as entirely imaginary and can have no place in art or history.

Jainism

Another religion, which affected Vijayanagara art, was Jainism, which must have prevailed there from the days of the first dynasty. An inscription of Harihara I refers to one Caṅdraprabha as the Head Priest of a Jaina *Caityālaya*.[174] During Bukka I, Jainism and Vaiṣṇavism came into conflict as pointed out earlier and in A.D. 1368 Bukka I brought about their famous reconciliation. Bukka's minister Baicappa was a Jaina[175] and his son Irugappa, better known, also a Jaina, made a donation to a Jaina temple near Kāñci[176] and it is famous for its paintings. His two sons, Baicappa and Irugappa, were generals of the Vijayanagra emperor Vīra Vijaya in 1442.[177] In A.D. 1408 during Deva Rāya I in the Guttināḍu the eighteen Kaṁpaṇas contained two prosperous Jaina settlements.[178] Deva Rāya I had a Jaina queen called Bhīmi Devī, a disciple of Paṇḍitācārya. A Jaina Ballappa Gauḍa in A.D. 1415 and other learned men were spoken of in Nāgarakhaṇḍa.[179] Probably it is this teacher who is mentioned at Beḷgoḷa in A.D. 1422 as a sage and a general.[180] One Śrutamuni is hailed as a sun in the sky of the Jaina path.

His successor Deva Rāya II must have greatly tolerated Jainism. In *śaka* 1353 one *koḷaga* of paddy on every bullock load, coming from other places to Bārakūru was granted by the Seṭṭis of Basrūr for the benefit of the Jaina temple (*basti*) there.[181] Jaina settlements like Kanakagiri in A.D. 1422 were becoming Brāhmaṇa possessions,[182] but still Jaina Saṅghas were heard of in A.D. 1432.[183] Sallappa made preparations to die in A.D. 1463 by the rite of *samādhi* in Nāgarakhaṇḍa, a Jaina settlement.[184] When Virūpākṣa was ruling in A.D. 1472 many nobles, in the name of charity and religion, built the Pārśvanātha Tīrthaṅkara's *Caityālaya* in Uduveṇi, their *Dānamūla sīme*.[185]

In the 16th century Jainism did not perish. About A.D. 1500 inscriptions refer to a Jaina scholar Paṇḍitadeva.[186] In A.D. 1518 the chief disciple of the Yatīpa Municaṅdra Rāya made a tomb for his preceptor (*guru*).[187] Some time later, Govi Dāṇima's wife Jayamā granted some land to Mallināthadeva.[188]

During the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya in *śaka* 1467 a Jaina, Rāmarāja, for the merit of his father, granted some land to a Jaina temple.[189] In the same reign the Jaina chief of Gersoppa granted 50 *gadyaṇas* of land to the deity Koṭeśvara.[190] About A.D. 1560 a Jaina Deva Mahīpati was called "a master of all royal wisdom,"

in Kṣemapura.[191] A Viceroy Vallabharāja Deva in A.D. 1579 granted lands to restore the Heggare *Basti*.[192] In A.D. 1586 the Kārkaḷa chief Bhairava II built a Jaina *basadi* (temple) during the reign of Veṅkaṭa II on the Cikka Beṭṭa at Kārkaḷa, setting up images of three *tīrthaṅkaras*. This temple, at the suggestion of a Jaina teacher, Lalita Kīrti, was called the Temple of the Three Jewels.[193] Two years later in A.D. 1588-89 Bhairava II or Bhairava Oḍeyar who later in A.D. 1609-10 declared his independence, became the feudatory of Veṅkaṭa II.[194] A Karnāṭaka prince Kinniga Bhūpāla in A.D. 1591 issued a grant for maintaining a Jaina *Basadi*.[195] The seventeenth century did not see the extinction of Jainism in Vijayanagara history. About A.D. 1603-4 an inscription opposite the Veṇūr Gomaṭeśvara Bhujabalin mentions one Timmarāya, who belonged to the Lunar Race and was ruling over the kingdom of Puñjaḷike.[196] All three of these chieftains were Jainas.

Jainism had some strange effects on Vijayanagara architecture which will be discussed later.

Islam

Islam was the root cause for the foundation of the Vijayanagara empire which was raised purposely to withstand it and to protect the Hindu *Dharma* which the spreading arms of Islam were out to destroy. This became evident from the advent of the first dynasty. Harihara I in A.D. 1342 was, according Ibn Battūṭa, acknowledged as overlord by the Muslim chief of Honnāvar.[197] The reign of Bukka I was one of long struggle with the Muslims. During the reign of Bukka II, his capital was invaded by Firuz Shah Bāhmani. Firishta's statement that the emperor of Vijayanagara was compelled to give his daughter to his foe Firuz Shah[198] is doubtful for it is uncorroborated. Deva Rāya's wild adventure after a village maiden "Portal" is alleged to have brought Firuz Shah again to Vijayanagara[199] but this too cannot be given much credence, for it appears to be a prejudiced account. His successor, Deva Rāya II, according to an inscription of A.D. 1430, had employed ten thousand "Turūkṣa horsemen" in his service.[200] In A.D. 1442 Deva Rāya enlisted 2000 Muslim archers in his army,[201] promising them toleration. The Persian ambassador, Abdur Razzak, to the court of Deva Rāya II in 1443 reveals another contact with the Muslims. During the reign of Virūpākṣa I, Muhammad Gawān, the minister of Muhammad Shah II, captured the Vijayanagara possession of Goa in A.D. 1469.[202]

The Russian traveller Nikitin in 1468-74 during the reign of Narasiṁha I, evidently alludes to the Muslim archer-horsemen when he states that the Khorassanians mounted in full armour, man as well as horse, were sent after the infantry in the forces of Vijayanagara.[203] During Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya this contact continued. Probably in A.D. 1520 in the triumphant battle of Raichūr he dealt a crushing blow to Adil Shah of Bijapur.[204] Paes, an eye-witness, gives a graphic account of these Muslim forces in Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's army. Witnessing a grand review of the royal army, Paes saw them with their shields, "javelins and Turkish bows, with

many bombs and spears and fire-missiles" and he observed that he was "astonished to find among them men who knew so well how to work these weapons."[205] He also says that they belonged to the King's Body-Guard.[206] Nuniz, another eye-witness, records that Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya sent those "Moors" in his service to lead the vanguard of his army.[207] During Acyuta Rāya, Firishta and Nuniz agree that Ibrahim Adil Shah advanced as far as Vijayanagara and returned after he was pacified with many valuable presents[208] but this is not corroborated by contemporary Hindu sources. Nuniz also adds that Acyuta Rāya bought every year 13,000 horses of Ormuz from Arab merchants.[209]

Sadāśiva Rāya had apparently a Muslim subordinate, Amana Mulūka (Ain-ul-Mulk).[210] During the same reign Ali Adil Shah went to his ally Rāma Rāya, the Regent, to offer his condolences on the death of a son and was adopted by Rāma Rāya's wife as her step-son.[211] Rāma Rāya had in his service an Abyssinian officer Ambur Khan who, for some unknown reason, was turned out of his estate which was made over to Prince Ibrahim of Golconda. The latter in a street duel in the capital, slew the former and his brother.[212] Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur, in A.D. 1557, on Hussain Shah's invading his kingdom, took refuge at Vijayanagara.[213] Rāma Rāya was on friendly terms with Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golconda as can be seen from a letter from the former to the latter.[214] The expeditions and the alleged depredations of Rāma Rāya brought about the confederacy or the Deccani Muslims which proved fatal in A.D. 1565. This defeat was mainly brought about by the dastardly desertion of two Muslim generals in the Vijayangara army during a crucial moment in the course of that battle.[215] After Tirumala's return to Vijayanagara, Murtaza Nizam Shah, in order to be avenged on Ali Adil Shah,[216] soon went to Golconda after a short stay at Vijayanagara.[217] Ali Adil Shah during the reign of Raṅga I, Tirumala's successor, retreated after receiving many presents.[218] In A.D. 1576 he was defeated by the Sultan of Bijapur.[219] Venkaṭa II changed his policy towards these Muslim rulers and became aggressive and his greatest victory was over Muhammad Quli Khan of Golconda.[220]

These contacts with Muslims left a permanent impression on Vijayanagara art which will be discussed later in its proper context, especially in the spheres of architecture and sculpture.

Christianity

The last influence which affected Vijayanagara art was Christianity especially through the Portuguese who visited the capital in the 15th century. Abdur Razzak notes that Deva Rāya II had a Christian *Daṇḍanāyaka* called Nimeh Pezir[221] whose identification cannot be established for lack of corroboration. But the real commencement of this intercourse was probably in A.D. 1507 when Dom Francisco d'Almeida became acquainted with "Timoja" (Timmoja), the Vijayangara Admiral.[222] Before the capture of Goa in A.D. 1510, Albuquerque had deputed the

Franciscan friar Frey Luiz to Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya to seek his assistance in capturing Calicut, and an embassy in return was sent from Vijayanagara.[223] Varthema (1503-7), the traveller, noted how, when the Portuguese arrived in that city or its territories, they were treated with "great honour".[224] This cannot be taken literally because there was nothing special with the Portuguese to deserve any such distinction. Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya in A.D. 1515 is said to have had a detachment of Portuguese *fidalgos* under Christevao de Figueredo who is claimed to have assisted him.[225] There is no independent evidence to establish the truth or otherwise of this assertion. This amity continued till A.D. 1526 when Lopez Vaz de Sampayo, according to Faria Y Souza, forgave "a rebel city" because it had belonged to the Vijayangara empire.[226]

This contact with the Portuguese with one or two breaks continued till A.D. 1611. It was disturbed in A.D. 1544 when Martin Affonso de Souza intended to plunder Tirupati. This accord was revived in A.D. 1546 when Rāma Rāya despatched an ambassador to Goa where a treaty was signed between these two powers.[227] In A.D. 1558 Rāma Rāya invaded San Thome where lived about a hundred married Portuguese citizens but returned without harming them.[228] In A.D. 1565 Caesar Frederick observed that Portuguese merchants always lived in the capital, Vijayanagara, where "they used to sleep under the porches for the great heat which is there."[229] The disastrous battle of A.D. 1565 crippled the Portuguese trade with Vijayanagara but the accusation that Tirumala, after his return there, dismissed the horse-dealers "without giving them anything for their horses"[230] cannot be taken for granted as it has not been corroborated. The friendship with the Portuguese was renewed in A.D. 1602 by Veṅkaṭa II and reached its zenith in A.D. 1607-8 when, despite the advice of his courtiers like Tātācārya, he defended the Jesuits and granted them a plot in the first enclosure of his Vellore fortress.[231] Veṅkaṭa II little realised that, by such an action like that of the Zamorin of Calicut later,[232] he indirectly aided the Portuguese in gaining a foothold in his country for proselytization, aggrandisement and commerce, including piracy in which they became adepts and even in undermining his independence, for the Portuguese had no other objects in India. This concord received a set-back in A.D. 1611 when Veṅkaṭa II besieged the city of San Thome where, according to a Jesuit source, he was thirsting "merely for greed of money."[233] Such Jesuit charges cannot be given any credence for they were invariably based on hearsay and often prejudiced.

The feudatories of the empire like the Queen of Uḷḷāḷ and the Nāyakas of Madurai had usually, after the 15th century, some connections with the Portuguese. In Madura, Nobili, the Jesuit with his colleagues, tried his best to spread the Catholic faith and such contacts left strange impressions on Vijayanagara art.

REFERENCES

1 *E.C.*, IX, Dv 3, p. 74. Vijayanagara is the correct name but Vijayanagar adopted by Sewell is still followed by some writers. Cf. Nilakanta Sastri, (*The Colas*, pp. 143, 645, 687, 692), although he correctly spelt it on pages 383, 716 and 810 (Index).

2 Ibid., Nl. 19, p. 33.

3 Ibid., VI, Sg. I, text, p. 347.

4 Hultzsch, *S.I.I.*, I, p. 167.

5 Cf. Sewell, *Forgotten Empire* (*F.E.*), Appendix C, pp. 101-4, 383.

6 Nuniz, Sewell, *F.E.*, p. 279.

7 Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, IV, pp. 89 et seq.

8 Cf. Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 33-43.

9 Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., IV, p. 106.

10 Hultzsch, *S.I.I.*, No. 119, p. 132.

11 Nuniz, Sewell, *F.E.*, pp. 293-94.

12 Ibid., p. 294.

13 Ibid., pp. 299-300.

14 Paes's *Narrative* and Nuniz's *Chronicle* were first translated from the Portuguese by Sewell and incorporated in his *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 229-79, and 279-376.

15 Paes, Sewell, op. cit., p. 254.

16 This battle was actually fought at the village of Baṇihaṭṭi on 23.1.1565. It has been variously called Rakṣasi Taṅgaḍi (Cf. Sherwani, H.K., *History of the Qutb Shah Dynasty*, Delhi, 1974, p. 146); Rakṣasgi Taṅgaḍgi, p. 147, ibid.; and Rakṣagi Taṅgaḍi, (ibid., p. 149). This battle was first called Tālikoṭa by Sewell (*F.E.*, p. 107), and this name though incorrect is still unfortunately followed by many writers. Sewell was corrected by Fr Heras, who renamed the battle as Rakṣas Tagḍi having presumably relied on the Marāṭhā account of that battle as given in the Marāṭhā copy of the Mss *Rāma Rāyana Bakhair* (Cf. *Āravīḍu*, p. 217). This name was further corrected into Rakṣas Taṅgaḍi by Dr B.A. Saletore (*Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, I, p. 131, f.n. 4) after personally examining the printed copy of the *Rāma Rāyana Bakhair* and the Mss versions in the *Mack. Collection* in the India Office Library, London. I have followed this interpretation which I think is correct.

17 Penukoṇḍa is now in Andhra Pradesh.

18 Cf. Sewell, *F.E.*, p. 177, f.n. 3. On the date of this battle there is no unanimity of opinion. Burgess placed it on the 25th Jan., 1565 (Cf. *Chronology*, p. 41). According to Prof. Sherwani (op. cit., p. 151) it occurred on 23rd January 1565. For other views see Firishta, *The Rise*, III, pp. 126, 414; Hultzsch *I.A.*, XIII, p. 154; Heras, *Āravīḍu*, p. 217; Saletore, B.A., *S.P.L.*, I, p. 131.

19 Cf. Caeser Fredrick, Purchas, *Pilgrims*, X, p. 93.

20 Cf. Hultzsch, *S.I.I.*, I, 69; *I.A.*, XXII, 136; Heras, *Āravīḍu*, I, pp. 245-46; *E.I.*, III, p. 238. Caṅdragiri and Vellore later.

21 Cf. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 61, 69.

22 Mandelslo, *Voyages and Travels*, II, p. 94 (Davis's ed. 1699).

23 Cf. Wilks, *Sketches*, I, p. 57; Satyanātha Aiyar, *The Nāyakas of Madura*, p. 132.

24 *Mānasāra*, Acharya, P.K., *Indian Architecture*, p. 59. On the date of the *Mānasāra*, see ibid., pp. 1-4; an early work, its date is uncertain, see infra ch. IV, f.n. 1.

25 *Sources*, p. 53 (ed. by S.K. Aiyangar).

26 *E.I.*, XIV, pp. 79-80.

27 Narasimhacharya, *Karnāṭaka Kavicharite*, (*K.K.*) II, p. 8.

28 Ibid., II, p. 190.

29 Ibid., p. 197.

30 *E.C.*, V, Cn 256.

31 *Sources*, p. 23.

32 Cf. Satyanatha Aiyar, op. cit. p. 4.

33 Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 278.

34 *Sources*, p. 143.

35 *E.I.*, III, p. 22; XIII, p. 316.

36 *E.C.*, X, Gd 6.

37 Ibid., XII, Si 95.

38 Narasimhacharya, op. cit., II, pp. 53-54.

39 Ibid., pp. 61-62.

40 Ihid., p. 74.

41 Ibid., pp. 86-87.

42 *Gaṅgā Dāsapratāpavilāsam*, *Sources*, p. 65.

43 Narasimhacharya, op. cit., II, pp. 128-29.

44 Ibid., pp. 59-60.
45 Ibid., pp. 58-59.
46 Ibid., p. 83.
47 Ibid., p. 152.
48 Ibid., p. 137.
49 *M.E.R.*, 1925, p. 89.
50 *Sources*, p. 142; *A.S.R.*, 1908-9, p. 175.
51 Paes, Sewell, op. cit., p. 239.
52 About this lady it has been conjectured that her name might have been Mohanāṅgī, to whom is ascribed the poem *Mārīcipariṇayam* and that her name might have been the surname of Tirumalāṁbā, the wife of Rāma Rāya and the daughter of the great king Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya. Cf. *Ep. Report for 1923; Sources*, p. 170; Vireshalingam Pantalu, *Āndhra Kavula Charitramu*, p. 197; Kavali Venkataramaswamy, *The Biographical Sketches of the Deccan Poets*, pp. 77-78; Saletore, *S.P.L.*, II, p. 164.
53 *I.A.*, XXVII, p. 325.
54 Narasimhacharya, II, p. 189.
55 Butterworth Chetty, *Nellore Insc.*, I, v. 17, p. 153.
56 *Sources*, p. 131.
57 *A.S.R.*, 1908-9, pp. 185-86.
58 Narasimhacharya, *K.K.*, II, p. 206,
59 Subramanya Pantalu, *I.A.*, XXVII, p. 299.
60 *Aufrecht Catalogarum*, p. 230; Burnell, *Tanjore Mss.*, p. 61.
61 *Sources*, p. III.
62 *M.A.R.*, 1918, p. 56.
63 708 of 1922; 9 of 1904; *E.R. for 1929*, pp. 119-20.
64 Cf. *M.A.R.* for 1920, p. 38; *I.A.*, XXVII, p. 325.
65 *Sources*, pp. 191-92.
66 Cf. Abu'l Fazl, *Akbar Nāmā*, text, III, p. 215; trans. pp. 62-64; Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, *Tabakat-i-Akbarī*, part II, pp. 69-70.
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70 *Sources*, p. 190.
71 Gopinatha Rao, *The Āravīti Maṅgalāpuram Plates*, *E.I.*, XII, p. 347.
72 *Vasucaritramu*, *Sources*, p. 216.
73 Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 98.
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76 Rangacharya, op. cit., I, p. 639.
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78 *E.C.*, IV, Gu 40.
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81 *I.A.*, XIII, p. 157.
82 *A.S.R.*, 1911-12, p. 179.
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84 *Sources*, p. 230.
85 Ibid., fn.
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112 *From Fr R. de Nobili to Fr A. Laersio, Madura*, 1610; Heras, *Āravīḍu*, p. 525.
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117 Taylor, *O.H. Mss.*, II, p. 5.
118 *Raghunāthabhudayam*, *Sargas*, XI-XII, *Sour-*

ces, pp. 291-301.
119 *E.C.*, VIII, Sb 375.
120 Ibid., XI, Dg 68.
121 Ibid., II, Sb 344.
122 Ibid., XII, Kg 43.
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124 Cf. Fleet, *J.B B.R.A.S.*, XII, p. 375.
125 *E.C.*, V, Hn 133.
126 Ibid., XII, Mi 83, p. 112.
127 Ibid., VIII, Tl 144.
128 *E.C.*, III, Sr 11.
129 Ibid., VIII, Nr 65.
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131 Ibid., III, Sr 139.
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133 *A.S.R.*, 1908-9, p. 186.
134 *E.C.*, VII, Sh 1.
135 *Gubernatis Storia*, pp. 383-4, Heras, *Āravīḍu*, p. 58.
136 *E.C.*, IX, Dg 30.
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138 *E.I.*, VI, p. 5.
139 Cf. Whiteaway, *The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India* (*The Rise*), p. 28.
140 *E.C.*, V, Hn 15.
141 Puttaiya, *The Kempe Gauḍa Chiefs*, *Q.J.M.S.*, XIII, p. 728.
142 497 of 1905.
143 *E.I.*, XVI, p. 245.
144 *I.A.*, XLIV, p. 221.
145 *Sources*, pp. 233-34.
146 *E.I.*, IV, p. 271.
147 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* (*Mysore and Coorg*), p. 156.
148 Cf. Burnell. *On the Colossal Jaina Statue at Kārkala*, *I.A.*, II, p. 353; Wilson, *The Mack. Collection*, p. 62.
149 *M.A.R.*, 1923, p. 107.
150 Della Valle, *Travels*, II, p. 341.
151 Cf. Ibid., p. 30.
152 *E.C.*, II, SB 136.
153 240 of 1910.
154 *Varadāmbikā Pariṇayaṁ*, *Sources*, p. 172.
155 *T.A.S.I.*, pp. 93-98.
156 *E.I.*, IV, pp. 5-10.
157 Ibid., IX, (67, 69), p. 341.
158 Rangacharya, op. cit., II, p. 841.
159 63 of 1915.
160 *E.I.*, XII, (5, 6, 9, 12), p. 186.
161 *Sources*, p. 202.
162 On this point see Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas* pp. 348, 644-45.
163 *E.I.*, XVI, p. 245.
164 Sewell, *Lists*, I, p. 93.
165 *E I.*, XVI, (44-62), p. 256.
166 Ibid., p. 245.
167 Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 64.
168 *E I.*, XII, (38), p. 357. Kielhorn rightly maintained that this grant was made in favour of Rāmānuja's sect or more particularly of those members settled at the birthplace Śrīperuṁbuḍūr or the Vaiṣṇava temple in which were enshrined two of Rāmānuja's images mentioned in the grant. This is plausible as that sage lived nearly 400 years prior to the emperor Sadāśiva Rāya (1542-67). That Viṣṇuvardhana lived in A.D. 1143 is certain as can be seen from one of his inscriptions of that date (*E.C.*, VI, Kd 99, p. 18). This king was converted by Rāmānuja from Jainism to Vaiṣṇavism.
169 Cf. Aiyangar, S.K., *Ahobalam Inscription of Śrī Raṅga Rāya*, *E.I.*, XVI, (159), pp. 233-34.
170 Cf. Vellunguḍi Plates, *E.I.*, XVI, (159), pp. 297, 329.
171 Cf. Hultsch, *The Coins of the Kings of Vijayanagara*, *I.A.*, XX, p. 309; Brown, op. cit., p. 64; Rangachari, *Some Undated Coins of Vijayanagara*, *I.A.*, XXIII, p. 26.
172 Rangacharya, op. cit. II, (91), p. 1002.
173 *E.C.*, IV, Gu 40.
174 Ibid., IX, Ma 18.
175 Ibid., II, SB, 253.
176 *E.I.*, VII, pp. 115-16.
177 Ibid., VIII, p. 22.
178 *E.C.*, VIII, Sb 261.
179 Ibid., VIII, Sb 329.
180 Ibid., Sb 253, p. 108.
181 Rangacharya, op. cit., II, p. 850.
182 *E.C.*, IV, Gu 24.
183 Ibid., II, SB 258, p. 117.
184 Ibid., SB 330.
185 Ibid., VIII, Sa 60.
186 Ibid., II, SB 395.
187 Ibid., IV, Ch 147.
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189 Rangacharya, op. cit., I, p. 269.
190 Ibid., II, p. 852.
191 *E.C.*, VIII, Sa 55.

192 Ibid., XII, Ck 22.
193 *Kārkala Inscription of Bhairava, II, E.I.*, pp. 124-25
194 Ibid., VIII, No. 10, p. 127.
195 Sewell, *Lists*, II, p. 14.
196 *E.I.*, VII, pp. 113-14; *I.A.*, V, p. 37.
197 Ibn Battūta, *Travels*, IV, p. 68 (Defremery Sanguinetti's Trans.)
198 Firishta, *The Rise*, II, p. 385, (Briggs' trans.).
199 Ibid., p. 383.
200 *E.C.*, III, Sr 15.
201 Firishta, op. cit., II, p. 432.
202 Ibid., II, p. 483.
203 Major, *India in Fifteenth Century*, p. 12.
204 Cf. Nuniz, Sewell, *F.E.*, pp. 319-24.
205 Paes, Sewell, *F.E.*, p, 21.
206 Ibid., p. 247. Paes refers to the Moorish Quarters "of the Muslims in the city", who were "natives of the country and were paid by the king and belonged to his Guard," *F.E.*, p. 247, also see p. 248.
207 Nuniz, Sewell, op. cit., p. 314.
208 Firishta, op. cit., III, p. 328.
209 Nuniz, Sewell, op. cit., p. 362.
210 *M.E.R. of 1915*, p. 112.
211 Firishta, op. cit., III, p. 118.
212 Ibid. p. 328.
213 Ibid., p. 110.
214 Ibid., pp. 396-97, *I.A.* L, pp. 101-2.
215 Ceasar Frederick, Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, X, p. 92.
216 Firishta, *The Rise*, III, pp. 418-20; *Sources*, p. 238.
217 *Sources*, p. 302.
218 Firishta, op. cit., III, p. 435.
219 *Sources*, pp. 231-32.
220 Ibid., p. 243.
221 Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 41.
222 Danvers, *The Portuguese Power in India*, (*Report*), p. 114.
223 *Commentaries of Afonso Da Albuquerque*, Haklyut's Series), II, p. 73; Sewell, *F.E.*, pp. 120, 122.
224 Varthema, *Travels*, p. 53 (Temple's ed.).
225 Faria y Sousa, *Asia* v. *Portguesa*, (Stevens'), I, p. 196; I. Paes also refers to Christovao's meeting Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, see Paes, Sewell, *F.E.*, pp. 242-44. Also see *Leonadas da India*, II, 509-10.
226 Faria y Sousa, op. cit., I, p. 246; Heras, op. cit., I, p. 60.
227 Friere de Andrade, *The Life of Dom Jao de Castro*, p. 226.
228 Couto, VII, pp. 54-60; Heras, op. cit., pp. 67-69.
229 Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, X, p. 98.
230 Ibid., p. 94.
231 *From Fr B. Coutinho to Fr J. Alvares*, Vellore, Heras, op. cit., p. 479.
232 Saletore, R.N., *Indian Pirates*, pp. 128-143.
233 *Litterarae Annuae of the Province of Malabar*, 1611, Heras, op. cit., p. 448.

CHAPTER TWO

PRE-VIJAYANAGARA ARCHITECTURAL CURRENTS

THE Vijayanagara school of architecture was without any doubt influenced by the various types of architecture which preceded it and, in order to understand and appreciate Vijayanagara art, it is essential to analyse the different elements of architecture which prevailed prior to its advent. The Vijayanagara emperors were the political descendants or successors of the Hoysaḷas but the architecture of the former in no way resembles that of the latter. This was because the Vijayanagara monarchs were emperors and their imperialistic concepts fully permeated their architecture. Therefore the Vijayanagara school of architecture is a pleasant medley of all the currents which preceded it. This was not in vain for in their palmiest days the Vijayanagara emperor ruled over whole of South India south of the Kṛṣṇā and for a time even over Ceylon (Śrī Laṅkā). They must have seen the typical school of art prevalent in their various provinces and introduced their respective elements or those which had pleased them into their new architecture and it is also likely that they employed the best craftsmen from those regions which appealed to their artistic and aesthetic tastes in the construction of their temples some of which have remained to this day, marvels of this new style.

Some Views of the Origins of Vijayanagara Art

Some writers in recent times have expressed certain views in regard to the

origins of Vijayanagara architecture. Writers and art critics have traced it to Yādava, Kākatīya and Coḷa influences. Hermann Goetz remarked that "in their (Vijayanagara) capital (founded in 1336)(1346)[1], the rulers of Vijayanagara had first revived the late Yādava-Kākatīya style of architecture in a very plain form."[2] Specimens in support of this view were the Gaṇigiṭṭi temple of A.D. 1385, the Jaina temple on the Hemakūṭa Hill near Acyuta Rāya's temple. Commenting on the *ratha* style of architecture at Hampi (Vijayanagara) Dr Sivaramamurti remarked how in the *rathas* there are to be traced a "new development in Coḷa architecture."[3] Benjamin Rowland called Vijayanagara architecture "the fantastic architecture of the city" which suggested to him the "most florid phase of European Baroque."[4] Goetz called it a "new type of architecture"[5] and he later observed that "in no other period of India's past we know so many, so impressive and so richly decorated temples, halls, enclosures, gate-ways, votive images in stone and bronze, murals, etc."[6] Dubreuil had remarked that there had been no outer influence in Dravidian art. "In all cases" he observed "we have admitted the principle that there has not been any foreign influence in the Dravidian art and it verifies even today. One could expect European influence. There is nothing of the sort. In the 20th century architecture lives still essentially original."[7]

Criticism of the Various Views

An examination of the various schools in broad outline is essential in order to evaluate the different views regarding the origins or influences of Vijayanagara art.

The Yādava Style of Architecture

The Yādava school of architecture is often called Hemadpaṅthi, after the noted Yādava administrator Hemādri, the chief minister and private secretary of the Yādava rulers Mahādeva (A.D. 1260-72) and Rāmacandra (A.D. 1272-1309). He is reputed to have been the creator of a new style of temple architecture named after him "Hemadpaṅthi." It is noted for its heavy structures, extant at Sātgāon, Mehkar and other places in the Deccan. They are distinguished for their paucity of sculptural ornamentation "following the sculptural mode of late Cāḷukyas as in Hoysaḷa and Kākatīya monuments."[8] Percy Brown had earlier expressed a similar view stating that Yādava temples "are distinguished by their heavy proportions and bald and uninteresting architectural treatment and what is particularly noticeable, the scarcity of figure sculpture on their exteriors."[9] The temples of this type, though common in the Deccan, have some of their most representative examples in the Bhavāni temple, Barsi Tākli and others in the former Berars.[10]

There is little evidence to support any of these views. The Gāṇigiṭṭi temple

and the Jaina temple on the Hemakūṭa Hill near Acyuta Rāya's temple have nothing to do with any vestiges of Yādava architecture for they are only early examples of the new Vijayanagara school which was a fresh and composite type of architecture which, on the other hand, is well-known for its sculptural adornment although it became rather heavy only in the 17th century when its glory had almost passed away, giving way to a florid efflorescence. Whether the Yādava architecture followed the Later Cāḷukyan models is debatable and need not concern us here but it is difficult to agree with the view that the Vijayanagara Viṭṭhalasvāmi *Ratha* was a new development of Coḷa architecture and this aspect will be dealt with when dealing with Vijayanagara architecture in detail. To trace any Baroque influence in Vijayanagara art is nothing but an echo of Paes's admiring remark that, during his visit to Vijayanagara, when he saw the gigantic columns in the temple there, flowering into immense brackets he called them "Romanesque style, so well made that it could not be better" and they appeared to him "as if made in Italy",[11] implying according to Rowland that the craftsmanship Paes had seen must have remainded him of the work in Rome "either Baroque or Antique".[12] These are accidental resemblances and can never be taken seriously. Dubreuil's remark that there was no external influence in Dravidian and incidentally in Vijayanagara art can never be endorsed as will be proved in the following pages.

Kākatīya Architectural Elements

The Kākatīyas adopted another type of architecture which had certain specific characteristics. Their shrines can be seen at Mācharla, Gursala, in their capital, Wārangal and other places within their dominion, in the Deccan. Their shrines are characterised by ceilings, pillars meticulously carved with scenes from the *Itihāsas* and the *Purāṇas*, high plinths, elaborately sculptured pillars which were finely polished, walls adorned with intricate ornamentation as also on their pillars and large doorways. They were also notêd for their immense halls as, for instance, in the Thousand Pillars *Maṇḍapa* at Wārangal.

Most of these architectural features were not exclusively Kākatīya and could be traced in the architectures of other dynasties like the Hoysaḷas, Kadambas and the Western Cāḷukyas. As will be shown subsequently, the Vijayanagara craftsmen drew their inspiration for fashioning their temples from most of the preceding schools, whose typical features will have to be examined in support of any such conclusion.

The Sources of South Indian Architecture

In order to determine the real sources of Vijayanagara art it is essential to ascertain the previous schools and their important features. In South Indian

architecture no influence is more clearly seen than that of Buddhist art. This becomes quite evident on looking at the cave temples of South India. These are of two types: those which are crude and probably the oldest and those which are carved into the rock. One may contend that there hardly exist in the south as many ancient cave temples as in the north but this may be disputed. However, those in the north probably indicate a high state of civilisation owing to their advanced style and technique while those in the south are comparatively poor and imply a lower stratum of cultural advancement.

Probably the oldest cave temple in India is the Barbara Hill Cave in Bihar. Its entrance is rectangular, unadorned and its walls very smooth and plain. This rugged simplicity is an index of its antiquity but this rectangular door was invariably preserved in the entrances of South Indian shrines. In the Lomas Ṛiṣi Cave its opening reveals some interesting features. This cave, it has been claimed to have been one of the hermitages dedicated by Aśoka for the use of the Ājīvika sect in *circa* 257 B.C.[13] The entrance of this cave is also rectangular which has, however, shrunk into a much smaller size than what it was in the Barbara cave. But above it, decoration had already commenced and this rectangular entrance was crowned by a semi-circular frieze portraying elephants. This was to be in South Indian shrines a feature of decorating the *ubapīṭam* or *upapīṭam* or the pedestal and other places. This again was superimposed by an arch with a tooth-like ornamentation.[14]

That this is the reproduction of a *caitya* window can be verified by examining the *caitya* window of one of the Ajanta caves.[15] The walls here are plain. Within this semi-circular arch two square pillars are seen in their real initial stage in another rock-cut cave near Pune. In both these cases the pillars are without any *aśvapādam* (the base). They came to be ornamented in the pillars of the caves at Kanheri, where the *nāgabandham*, the little snake-hood like ornament, with leaf-like edges but slashed as though with a knife. At Kanheri, in the front verandah of a cave it originated for the first time and later it permeated Kadamba architecture. Moreover, within the cave ornamentation also appears initially. The shape of this cave is oval within and this is the shape preserved in for example the Jaina temple at Tiruparuttikunram, and some shrines at Aihoḷe and Mahāmallapuram.

Another well-known group of caves is the Ajanta caves in one of which, especially number XXVI,[16] the *caitya*-window of the Lomas Ṛiṣi cave was reproduced but with much greater ornamentation. The tooth-like ornamentation is also seen here and the entire side of the window is flanked with ribs. This *caitya* window came to be a permanent feature of South Indian art as well shown subsequently. But here it must be noted that, where one would see the *kīrti-mukha* or the face of splendour is now a blank. This *caitya*-window is seen now in a miniature form adorning, as in this case, below this large window beneath which is the rectangular doorway. This *kūḍu* or the *caitya*-window or cornice is here filled with the head of the Buddha himself and later even in Vijayanagara times, this *caitya*-window and

the face within it, though not probably of the Buddha, remained. Thus the walls of this cornice or *caitya*-window were beginning to be ornamented with figures and floral designs.

The square pillar ceased its square form at the base or the pedestal which is somewhat raised in this case and from it emerged the round pillars adorned with two broad ribs having figures and above this pillar rose the capital. This was at first a rectangular slab with the square edges at its sides sewn off and so the capital resembles much its counterpart in Pallava architecture later. Below this was placed a square slab which subsequently came to be styled in Tamil the *palagai* or the abacus. Next to this was placed the round lotus capital marked all round with lines. In Vijayanagara architecture this lotus capital became so ornamented as can be seen in, for instance, in the Jaina *basti* (temple), Bhairavadevī *Maṇḍapa*, at Mūḍubidre.[17] Here also is the octagonal pillar which survived later.[18] Another group of caves is found at Ellora carved into the rock itself. Here are two types of cave shrines: one of these is at the south end of the whole Ellora group. Here protrudes the square pillar with the flat perpendicular capital seen at Kanheri and found later in Pallava temples. In these, caves began to have storeys, one by one.[19] Later this design was imitated by Hindu craftsmen to raise the *vimāna* and *gopuram* which are found in Coḷa and Vijayanagara temples.[20]

There is another example of a cave temple, after the Buddhists, carved by the Śaivites. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛiṣṇa I (A.D. 754-775) excavated the celebrated rock-cut temple of Śiva, symbolising the palace of that god in the Himālayan glacier at Kailāsa.[21] Here can be seen how the Rāṣṭrakūṭa craftsmen improved on their Buddhist models to a remarkable extent. On entering this temple the eyes meet the roof and the *kīrti-mukha* ornamentation on it and in the corners. It will be subsequently shown how, in the Vijayanagara period, this roof or the *koḍuṅgai* was similarly ornamented. By then the roof had assumed a shape but not that curve which it took in the Vijayanagara-period. Here too in the 9th century are met the square pillars with the flat abacus, all plain. The *mukha maṇḍapa* or the frontal verandah is flanked with a small wall which survived to Hoysaḷa days. On going in, this pavilion has storeys as in the former case and the side chapels all storeyed like the Indra Sabhā[22] or the Laṅkeśvara chapels[23] but the entire shrine commences from the earth itself and the elevation increases until there rises the *vimāna*. This element, probably inherited by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the Coḷas, died out in Vijayanagara architecture when the *gopuras* over the gateways to the temple were made very prominent while the *vimāna* over the temple itself, viz. above the *garbhagṛha* sank into comparative obscurity. On either side of this cave temple rise two square lamp-pillars (*dīpa māle*), well-ornamented, which in Vijayanagara days assumed a beautiful shape though they became quite plain.[24] They will be dealt with more fully in connection with Vijayanagara architecture subsequently.

Another element which attracts attention is the decoration or ornamentation on the walls. The walls of the *maṇḍapam* on the north, south and west at Ellora

are adorned with sculptures of Rāvaṇa shaking the mountain Kailāsa, Pārvatī clinging to Śiva in fear, Śiva dancing, Śiva as Sūrya and other sculptures. The walls themselves are beautified with square pillars having the flat capital.[25] This regenerated in Vijayanagara architecture as the flower-pot pilaster or the *kumbha-pañjaram* or simply *pañjaram* as it later came to be styled,[26] which became one of the most attractive features of Vijayanagara temple structure. The *kūḍu* or the Buddhist *caitya*-window with the inlaid face on the sides of the roof of the Kailāsa temple, reminds us of the Buddhist influence.

Another important aspect of this rock-cut temple is the circumambulatory path or the *pradakṣiṇa* already alluded to as having an upper storey after the Buddhist *caitya*. This *pradakṣiṇa* was evidently adopted from the Buddhist stūpa. In the Sānci stūpa for example the entire stūpa, containing the relics of the Buddha, has a circumambient enclosure intended for the faithful.[27] In the ground-plan of the Kailāsa temple at Ellora the *pradakṣiṇa* is also present[28] and, after some changes, it again recurs in Vijayanagara shrines.

This *pradakṣiṇa* of the Kailāsa temple at Ellora and the Indra Sabhā from the entrance, for example, display a variety of pillars. Here protrudes that lotus capital or *munai*[29] which in Vijayanagara art assumed a further bud-like pendant. From this square-based pillar, which is plain, issued a round off-shoot as at Ellora. This pillar has the same round lotus capital seen in the Indra Sabhā, adorned just like the closed capital there at Ellora but, above this, instead of the open lotus seen in the Indra Sabhā, appeared the plain, flat capital placed on a slab which is visible at Ajanta and returned later to the Pallava temples.[30] The Brahma shrine at Ellora contains the door-keepers (*dwāra-pāla*) who, after certain vicissitudes in the currents of South Indian art, were reborn in the Vijayanagara shrines. It may be added that the rectangular entrance, seen before in the primitive Barbara cave in Bihar, cannot escape attention.

Buddhist Influence on South Indian Art

How did Buddhist art influence South Indian art? In the "Cave of Lions" as Dubreuil called it, at Sāḷuvankuppam, not only the square entrance but also the *caitya*-window appears clearly though empty.[31] This *kūḍu* or *caitya*-window peeps with the face clearly in the Arjuna's *Ratha* at Mahābalipuram (Māmallapuram).[32] On examining this *ratha* or better, Bhīma's *Ratha*, one cannot fail to notice the upper storey and the great similarity especially of the latter to the facade for instance, of the Jagannātha Sabhā at Ellora.[33] This system of having storeys is distinctly Buddhist and it can be fully confirmed on scrutinising the Devadhamma Sabhā panel from the Stūpa at Bharhut where are seen not only the three storeys but also the *caitya*-window from which some women inquisitively peep.[34] The shape of the upper roof of this *ratha* is nothing but a *caitya*-window prolonged over the whole edifice.

The pillar was another factor affected by Buddhist influence. Mahābalipuram discloses the square pillar of the *caityas* as well as the completely round pillar which is essentially Coḷa. This round pillar has a lion for its base and this motif reappears in Vijayanagara shrines.[35] This round pillar has the round *kūḍu* and above it the opening lotus just as in the Indra Sabhā at Ellora. Above this opening lotus lies another flat slab called the *palagai* and again above this another flat layer called the *kaṇḍam* and over it the capital as in the central aisle of the Elephanta temple[36] in the interior of the Yamapuri cave otherwise called the Varāha *Maṇḍapa* at Mahābalipuram.[37] The corbel is plain and it exactly resembles that of the pillars of the College Hall at Ajanta.[38] This plain corbel is also seen in one of the caves at Trichinopoly (Tiruchirapalli)[39] and here the entire shape of the pillars is very similar to that of the central aisle in the Elephanta temple. Here is seen the square base from which emerges the round pillar with the lotus *kaṇḍam*. This plain corbel becomes blotched with stripes in its side while all through its middle runs a stripe-like blank for example at Elephanta[40] and this was exactly reproduced in the Dharmarāja *Ratha* where also this bracket is doubled merely for ornamentation.[41] It can now be realised to what an extent Buddhist art influenced South Indian architecture.

The Beginnings of Architecture During South Indian Dynasties

The beginnings of architecture in South India under various dynasties deserve to be examined in some depth to determine their influence on Vijayanagara art. With the disappearance of the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas in the north in the middle of the 6th century, the western and central portions of India came under the influence of the Western Cāḷukyas whose greatest ruler Pulakeśi II (*c.* A.D. 609-42) was subverted by Narasiṁhavarman, the Pallava king of Kānci. The Pallavas of Kānci, who had been ruling since the 4th century and were great temple builders, survived with varying fortunes till the end of the 9th century when they were wiped out by the Coḷas during Āditya I (*c.* 810-906) and Parāntaka I (*c.* A.D. 906-53). The Coḷas, who are mentioned in the 2nd and 13th rock edicts of Aśoka[42] and the Pāṇḍyas whose capitals were at Thanjāvūr (Tanjore)[43] and Madurai respectively,[44] often came into conflict with each other, leading to interaction of styles. In the 9th century the Coḷas revived again and ruled the Coromandel (Coḷamaṇḍala) coast for nearly three centuries. Meanwhile the Western Cāḷukyas, after the collapse of Pulakeśi II, in the 7th century, became divided into the eastern and western branches and the Western Cāḷukyas were eclipsed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa (modern Maḷkheḍ in Karnataka about ninety miles SE of Solapur) till in A.D. 973 the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were overpowered by the Later Cāḷukyas who ruled over the Deccan till the end of the 12th century. Then their kingdom was divided between the Yādavas (Seuṇas) of Devagiri (modern Daulatabad) in northern Deccan and the Kākatīyas whose capital was at Wārangal in the east and the Hoysaḷas in the

Karnataka region with their metropolis at Haḷebīḍ. They in the 13th century shared the territory of the Coḷas, who fell and of the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai till Ala-ud-din Khalji (A.D. 1296-1315) crushed all those powers. Ballāḷa IV, the last Hoysaḷa king, lost his life in fighting against the Turūṣkas and the entire region south of the Kṛṣṇā came under the aegis of the Vijayanagara empire (A.D. 1346-1646).[45]

Meanwhile there were certain other dynasties in South India some of whom deserve mention though some among them hardly affected any styles of architecture. For instance, the Gaṅgas, who ruled contemporaneously with the Coḷas and the Pāṇḍyas, had their capital at Gaṅga Perūr to the south of Mysore and, as it lies buried in a river, little is known about their architecture. Although some of their shrines and some images have been discovered they are too few to be characterised as a style. Another dynasty, a feudatory first of the Pallavas, were the Kadambas who became independent later and even overthrew the Pallavas themselves till they too were overwhelmed by the Vijayanagara emperors in the first half of the 14th century.[46]

Each of these dynasties had its own distinctive style of architecture which was not at first recognised by art critics. Fergusson was the first writer to give all these different styles the common and meaningless epithet Dravidian[47] but none bothered to distinguish between any of these styles. This distinction was first made by Jouveau-Dubreuil who differentiated between the Coḷa and Pāṇḍya and Pallava styles.[48] But even Cousens, an expert in south Indian archaeology, mixed up the Cāḷukyan, the Kadamba and Hoysaḷa schools under one common name—Cāḷukya which was far from justifiable. Only recently writers have distinguished most of these styles.[49]

These distinctions need not make one think that all buildings, for instance, called Kadamba were built only by the Kadaṁbas owing to several reasons and circumstances. The Kamala Nārāyaṇa temple at Degāṁve, in the purely Hoysaḷa style, was built by the queen of the Kadamba king Śivacitta of Goa. Nevertheless most of the characteristic shrines were invariably built by them when their rulers were holding sway in their respective areas. Still differences of style did not coincide with distinctive dynasties because there was always an inter-mingling of these different currents of art in its various aspects.

The Problems of Pillars

The Coḷas and the Pāṇḍyas were much earlier than the Pallavas but unfortunately their earliest structructures do not exist, so the decoration and grandeur of their buildings have to be forgotten in order to realise their respective styles. The round pillars, it has been observed, are essentially Coḷa. In no other schools of architecture are found these round pillars except in Mauryan art. Such, for example, is the Aśokan pillar at Allahabad which, according to some, was probably derived from the Sassanian pillars of Persia[50] but this is doubtful as it cannot be

convincingly be substantiated.

These round pillars in the south can be seen, without the base, in a small temple in the form of a *ratha* (chariot) on the sea-shore at Mahābalipuram. This is an example of that interaction of Pallava and Coḷa styles. On the eastern side of the Jaina temple at Tiruparuttikunram is an excellent example of these Coḷa pillars: round, plain, with a base but with a double bracket which was later rounded though there it is square. There is another pavilion (*maṇḍapa*) in the Coḷa style, in the Vaiṣṇava temple at Chidaṁbaram and here too is found the double bracket later on adopted by the Pallavas. This *maṇḍapa* was built by Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya of Vijayanagara in a purely Coḷa style and is the best representative of that school. These round pillars can also be seen in the temple on the rock at Tiruchirapalli where one meets with quite a congeries of styles.

The Development of the Round Pillars

How did these round pillars develop? In the Coḷa *gopuram* at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai[51] the round pillar was carried into the walls. They have lengthwise stripes and three broad belts and one cannot fail to notice the slightly perceptible square base, reminding us of its Buddhist prototype. From it spreads out the *munai* or the flat slab and above this the double bracket which in this case is square. The *palagai* it may be observed in Hoysaḷa and Vijayanagara architecture became separate. In this pillar is seen that decorative pilaster which survived to Vijayanagara times when it became a real ornament. In this case at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai it is simply the round pillar with only the single bracket and a rectangular drum-like base which was transmuted into a real pot (*kuṁbhapañjara*) in Vijayanagara architecture.

There was another specimen of a pillar which may be said to be more Pāṇḍya than Coḷa. This was the square pillar found in the 'Thousand Pillars *Maṇḍapa*' at Madurai. The square pillar with the octagonal stripes appears again and below it is a large square called the *saduram*, formed of three cubical parts and the octagonal lines which followed were succeeded by a similar square. In the early Vijayanagara style are met these square pillars with similar breaks in the whole column but plain. The double bracket is also seen on these Pāṇḍyan brackets so these were probably an innovation of south Indian craftsmen. The square pillar is also seen at Sāḷuvan Kuppaṁ in the Atiraṇacaṇḍa's *maṇḍapa* with the identical octagonal facets without the base but here is that tooth-edged and curved bracket, a descendant from Ellora, which was later on adopted by the Pallavas in the pillars of the facade of temple no. 3 at Mahābalipuram[52] with the horizontal lines at its side. This descendant from Ellora was later on adopted by the Pallavas, whose temples have the square pillar of the Pāṇḍyas.

A further elaboration of the square pillar is that in course of time there came into existence a double pillar like the one which adorns one of the colonnades of the Jaṁbukeśvara temple at Śrīraṅgam. The square pillar with the small *aśvapāda* or

the pedestal is there and from this emerges another pillar. This pillar has a simiiar base for its parent pillar but it is in size comparatively thinner though it is plain and has only the *kalaśam*, *kūḍu* and the lotus flower or the *munai*.[53] This double pillar is also met with in the pillars flanking the entrance to the Rock Temple at Tiruchirapalli, similar to the colonnade-pillars in the Jaṁbukeśvara temple. This double pillar was revived during the Vijayanagara period and will be dealt with later.

Another feature to be noticed in the Coḷa and Pāṇḍyan styles is the niche. The walls were ornamented with pillars as for example in the walls of the *gopurams* at Kumbhakoṇam or at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai.[54] A further ornamentation was the *goṣṭapañjaram* or the niche intended for images of divinities sculptured in high relief. This is after all a variation, if not an exact adaptation, of the niche in the Buddhist *caityas*[55] as for example at Ajanta, because in the Coḷa shrines, instead of leaving the upper portion of this niche simply adorned with floral designs, the South Indian craftsmen superimposed the *karṇakūḍu* or the pavilion on it and consequently made it a small temple in itself. In Coḷa times the slender imagery of old became transformed into real images. This is exemplified on looking at the southern facade of the Śiva temple at Dādāpuram[56] or the bases of the great *vimāna* of the Rājarājeśvara temple at Thanjāvūr.[57] There is a restraint in the decoration of the bases of these *gopurams*, which reminds us of the Vijayanagara shrines. Between these two niches in the middle lies the decorative pilaster or the *kuṁbhapañjaram*.[58] In Pāṇḍyan shrines the *kuṁbhapañjaram* had in many a place quite a niche for itself. This is the case with the Suṅdara Pāṇḍya *gopuram* of the Jaṁbukeśvara temple and it may be added that this decorative pilaster is quite identical with its Coḷa prototype.[59]

These niches contained splendid imagery. Nowhere exists a better specimen of this ornamentation than in the Gaṅgaikoṇḍasoḷapuram temple which Rājeṅdra Coḷa built after his conquest of Bengal.[60] In one place Śiva dances his Tāṇḍavān, in another site the favourite deity who removes obstacles, Gaṇapati[61], and in a different niche Śiva, sitting with Pārvatī, is seen crowning Rājeṅdra Coḷa I.[62]

One more feature of Coḷa and Pāṇḍya architecture deserving attention is the tower or the *vimāna*. It is clear that the earliest Coḷa shrines were extremely plain as they ought to be in every school of art. Probably the first Coḷa temple was only a square building supported on round pillars with only the double bracket and covered with a square and plain *vimāna* showing the characteristic main horizontal lines, crowned by a huge cupola or the *stūpi*.[63] This is the obvious inference if the elaborate shrines of Rājarāja Coḷa and Mahendra Coḷa at Thanjāvūr are examined for these from a broad square base soon taper into the skies like modern skyscrapers. The first one or two rungs of these *vimānas* are large and enshrine the niches mentioned earlier but, as they rise up higher, not only the size of these rungs decreases but even the door in the centre of each facade disappears.[64] This is true so far as the grand *vimāna* the of Rājarājeśvara temple at Thanjāvūr is concerned and as this is a typical Coḷa shrine, probably this must have been the case with other temples of this dynasty.

But the Pāṇḍyan *vimāna* was slightly different in structure and imagery. It was smaller with the door in the centre surviving to the top while all round the space is crowded wit incidents from the epics and legends crowned here and there with the *kūḍu* which had become a leaf-like ornament over which is the *kīrtimuka*.[65] This was not the case with the Coḷa *vimāna*, for example, of the Rājarājeśvara temple where one finds on each facade the leaf-like *kūḍu* and the *goṣṭapañjaram* crowned by the *kalaśa* but, as the storeys ascend, no images are seen. Imagery is only confined to the space occupied by the central door on each side.

The shape of these *vimānas* deserves a closer scrutiny. The horizontal lines of this structure are characteristic of the South while the vertical lines are of the North. This will be realised by gazing at the Liṅga Rāja temple at Bhuvaneswar[66] or the Caturbhuja temple at Khajuraho.[67] Here the *vimāna* is crossed with vertical lines which become quite a fairly thick band and this feature permeated not only Cāḷukyan architecture, but even that of Vijayanagara. A similar ornamentation is seen in the Pāṇḍyan *vimāna* of the Jaṁbukeśvara temple. Here is a *vimāna* which is purely a structure of horizontal lines (*tāla*) and in the middle of either side of the central door, which can be seen rising to the top, these sides have perceptibly projected outwards.[68] The sides of this *vimāna* are quite straight and the entire structure is comparatively small after the Coḷa style. The *gopura* of the Rājarājeśvara temple at Thanjāvūr has only three storeys while the *vimāna* of the central shrine was the most prominent. In Vijayanagara architecture the reverse was the case.

This system of crowning the gateway with the *gopura* (tower) was esssentially Buddhist as can be observed from the Stūpa at Sānchi. To the southern craftsman this was easy for, instead of the simple *toraṇas* or jambs of the Buddhists, he merely raised the *vimāna* over the gate, making it more imposing.

The Interaction of Styles

That style influenced style, owing to a variety of circumstances, cannot be better illustrated than in the interaction of Cāḷukyan and Pallava architectures. Here is a case of double influences, each acting and reacting on the other and these are based on historical facts. The Western Cāḷukyas (A.D. 543-757) had their first great ruler in the renowned Pulikeśi II who, after conquering the Kadambas, Gaṅgas, Mauryas of the Koṅkaṇ, Āḷūpas of Tuḷuva (South Kanara), Lāṭas (of South Gujarat) and Harṣavardhana of Kanauj, compelled the Pallava king Maheṅdravarman I to seek refuge behind the walls of Kāñci[69] (Conjeevaram) but was himself ultimately defeated by the Pallava ruler Narasiṁhavarman who reduced Bādāmi (Vātāpi), the Western Cāḷukya capital to ashes.[70] Pulikeśi's son Vikramāditya I retrieved this disgrace of his father by capturing Kāñci, the Pallava capital.[71] From these contacts though from a military angle, it may be accepted that Narasiṁhavarman I, and probably his father Mahendravarman I pre-

sumably visited Bādāmi, which the former positively reduced to ashes and that Pulikeśi II and definitely his son Vikramāditya I who had occupied Kānci, must have seen that city and the buildings therein. There can be no doubt that Narasiṁhavarman I visited Vātāpi later called Bādāmi as the Veḷurpālayam record states that "Narsiṁhavarman I famous like Upendra (Viṣṇu) who, by defeating the host of his ememies (the Western Cāḷukyas) took from them the pillar of victory standing in the centre of Vātāpi."[72] Although certain parts of that city were given to spoliation, the survival of the elegant caves there proves that they did not share that fate. Another inscription reveals that Vikramāditya II captured the Pallava capital of Kāñci "without destroying it."[73] These conquerors took with them the local craftsmen for building structures of their choice. This Vikramāditya II also took with him from Kāñci a skilled mason called "*Sarvasiddhi* Ācārya, the asylum of all virtuous qualities, the *sūtradhāri* (architect) of the Southern country."[74] He constructed the Lokeśvara temple under the orders of Lokamahādevi, the first wife of Vikramāditya II.[75] He must have taken more expert craftsmen for one of the two inscriptions on the eastern gateway of the Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭadakal, which never grew "out of the sacred associations of the site",[76] as Havell wildly imagined, reveals that its builder was a "certain Chaṭṭara Revaḍi-Ovajja who, it is said, made the southern country because he was acquainted with the secrets of the *Śrī-Śīle muddas* (*mudras*?)", believed to have been the name of a particular guild of stone masons.[77]

What Narasiṁhavarman saw at Bādāmi he tried to reproduce in his own dominions. It is agreed that the Dharmarāja *Ratha* at Mahābalipuram was built by this monarch in the first half of the 7th century A.D.[78] Mahendravarman I too must have constructed some of the cave shrines at Mahābalipuram in that period, being the son of a Viṣṇukuṇḍin and probably after seeing such temples at Bezwada, Undavalli, Mugularāzapuram, Sittanagaram[79] on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā and being himself endowed with artistic talents, in his early youth. Mahendravarman exults in an inscription that he had built the Maṇḍagapaṭṭu cave "without bricks, without timber, without metals and without mortar." Later on he built a number of similar shrines at Sittannavasal, Singaperumāḷkoil, Tiruchirapalli, Pallavaram, Daḷavanūr and Mahābalipuram. Those, built at the last place, are comparatively simple in style but have massive pillars, one external facade in the face of the rock enshrining large *liṅgas*, with *dvārapālas* carved in high relief, one at each end, the shrine chamber being free from all ornamentation within.[80]

The Features Adopted by the Pallavas from the Western Cāḷukyas

The Pallavas introduced certain changes in the temples they built on the Western Cāḷukyan models. Their facades were usually more ornamented and contained pillars of a different variety. The pillars became more delicate, slimmer, taller than their predecessors and took various shapes. The round one especially

with the seated lion, seen in the contemporary caves of Andhra Pradesh, appears to be an imitation of those in the verandah of Cave I at Bādāmi. The Bādāmi caves, show two types of pillars: the square and round. The former was a long square slab with the flat capital on the top with its sides slightly slashed off. This was the earliest pillar and two pillars with *dvārapālas* on either side of these made an early cave at Aihoḷe.[81] It is remarkable to find a parallel to it in the Dharmarāja *Ratha* at Mahābalipuram.[82] The square pillar at Aihoḷe was later on fully ornamented with straps above and below, filled with figures, while from beneath the first belt hung garlands and beneath this on each facade was a circle enclosing figures.[83] The corbel, a flat slab with slashed edges, was here wedged with lines which were divided by a broad blank tape-like space.[84]

Some of these elements were imitated by the Pallavas. On the round circles in the *sadurams* of the pillar is the capital in the typical Cāḷukya style. Here one may notice the *dvārapāla*[85] seen also at Bādāmi, as the former resemble the latter very much.[86] The other type of pillar at Bādāmi was the round pillar, which had a pedestal (*aśvapāda*) now taking a round shape, the *kūḍu* or pot-like ornamentation just above the pillar and above this the horizontally and vertically striped capital. Now the whole of this pillar from the capital to the pedestal was streaked with many vertical lines.[87] This very pillar was transported into Pallava art but with lesser ornamentation. The round Pallava pillar began to have only the octagonal lines from the top to the bottom while the Pallavas introduced their favourite lion motif, first seen in the Ādivarāha temple built by Mahendravarman I, as the pedestal for two pillars. This pillar, later on revived by the Vijayanagara emperors, slowly began to assume a greater ornamentation. On the lion pillars of the Rāmānuja *Maṇḍapam* at Mahābalipuram, just above the couchant lion unfold the garlands carved on the Viṣṇu pillar at Aihoḷe and above this is a further belt of floral docoration.[88]

The other element of embellishment adopted by the Pallavas was imagery. Some examples may be taken from the caves at Bādāmi. When entering Cave I at the left end of the verandah stand Harihara (Śiva and Viṣṇu) with his two wives, each on either side of him.[89] This found its counterpart in that panel depicting Siṁhaviṣṇu and his queens. Of course the imitation is not precise but nevertheless the similarity is unmistakable. Another carving in Cave II at Bādāmi is that of Viṣṇu as Vāmana or Trivikrama.[90] An identical sculpture is found at Mahābalipuram in which the posture of Viṣṇu and the person clinging to his left foot are specially notable.[91] Another carving in Cave II is that of the Varāha Avatāra at Bādāmi.[92] Here Viṣṇu as the Boar stands like a human being with his left leg forward. In the Varāha *Maṇḍapa* at Mahābalipuram there is also Viṣṇu as the Man-Boar similarly standing but only supporting the earth (*pṛthvī*) on his upraised knee, clasping her with his right hand.[93]

Again at Bādāmi in the IIIrd cave at the eastern end is the colossal figure of Viṣṇu sitting on a snake.[94] The Pallava craftsmen were always fond, as the previous

examples have shown, not of base imitation but of introducing some slight changes and improvements in their adaptations. This perhaps is best exemplified in their representation of Anantaśayana at Mahābalipuram. The impression of Viṣṇu sleeping on Śeṣa, defying Madhu and Kaiṭabha, is one of stupendous magnificence and is undoubtedly a very remarkable improvement on their Bādāmi model.[95]

The Adoption of the Ratha

The caves of Bādāmi were only caves and little more, but Narasiṁhavarman I considerably improved on his paradigms because he built cave shrines in the temples miscalled *rathas*. The *ratha* was after all a cave over which a *vimāna* was raised. This consisted of horizontal layers in the characteristic South Indian style crowned with the *stūpi*. The horizonatal lines (*tāla*) of the *vimāna* were adorned at intervals with miniature *vimānas*, making somewhat like a *pradakṣiṇa*, essentially a Buddhist feature. These miniature *vimānas* are all ornamented with the Buddhist *kūḍu* or *caitya* window from which peers a human face. This *kūḍu* was profusely utilised by the Pallava craftsmen to adorn the sloping roof (*koḍuṅgai*) and the *vimāna* as a whole.[96]

The earliest type of this Pallava *ratha* is probably the Pāṇḍava Cave at Mahābalipuram[97] which is a clear imitation of the facade of Bādāmi cave I.[98] Then a dome-like roof was placed over it, as in the case of Draupadi *Ratha*.[99]

The next stage was to have one storey (*tāla*) for the entire facade as in Bhīma's *Ratha*.[100] A further setp was to add another storey for instance in Sahadeva's *Ratha*.[101] At Mahābalipuram *rathas* have not more than three storeys as in the case of the Dharmarāja *Ratha*, which exerted some unforeseen influence owing to its architectural beauty. This is apparent when it is compared with the Sea-Shore temple at Mahābalipuram built by Narasiṁha II Rājasiṁha. The style of both is almost identical. The *vimāna* of the Sea-Shore temple is, of course, more elaborate and larger than that of the former. This shrine has six instead of three storeys in its prototype at Mahābalipuram. There is little doubt that this temple was intended to be a more elaborate structure than its model and Narasiṁhavarman, the first to build a complete shrine in South India, introduced besides the *garbhagṛha*, the *pradakṣiṇa*, the *navaraṅga*, the *mukhamaṇḍapa* and the small shrines for the *Navagrahas*. Most of these elements were revived in Vijayanagara architecture.

Besides this temple this king built at Kāñci, his capital, the Kailāsanātha, more huge in size and having a more imposing *vimāna*. In these storeys arrangement was made for small niches adopted later in the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ temple and other shrines. Its decoration was achieved by a lovely blending of *caitya*-windows and wagon-roofed structures first discernible at Sāñci over all of which arose a round cupola surmounted by a *kalaśa* or the water-pot which did not always survive. This was adopted by later monarchs besides the Coḷas and others. It

is specially regarding this that it resembles the Dharmarāja *Ratha* erected by his predecessor. It cannot also be denied that it affected the later Coḷa temples in the south as in the case of the Rājarājeśvara temple at Thanjāvūr and the Cāḷukyan shrine of Virūpākṣa at Paṭṭadakal. This certainly was a considerable improvement on the caves of Bādāmi.

The Cāḷukyan Adoption of Pallava Motifs

The temple of Virūpākṣa was no doubt built after a Pallava model. We may compare the shrines of Virūpākṣa with Pallava temples. The Pallava sculptors of Kāñci, whom Vikramāditya II, employed in building the Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭadakal, naturally fostered their own artistic ideals and so it is not unnatural to find some points of similarity in the two styles. The temples at Paṭṭadakal have *vimānas* with two storeys. The Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭaḍakal[102] greatly resembles the Dhārmarāja *Ratha*[103] at Mahābalipuram. This is particularly true as regards the *vimāna* which has two gradations in either case. The *stūpi* of the Cāḷukyas especially in this case was not completely round like that of the Coḷas but somewhat flattened as at Mahābalipuram.

Another remarkable adaptation by the Cāḷukyas from the Pallavas was the Buddhist *caitya*-window or the *kūḍu* with the human face. This was carved on every facade of the temple, not only on the *stūpi* and on the roof or the *koḍuṅgai*, but even on the miniature *vimānas* placed on the horizontal lines of the *vimāna* itself This *vimāna*, typically Pallava in structure, is kept at graded intervals on the lines of the *vimāna* thus creating a small *pradakṣiṇa* like the one in the Dharmarāja *Ratha*. Just above the roof and below the first line of the *vimāna* in the Dharamarāja *Ratha*, the mouldings are obvious transplantations of the Pallava ornaments. The Pallavas introduced there their lion-faces profusely and these were carved at Paṭṭaḍakal as well.[101] The *kūḍu* or the Buddhist *caitya*-window, adopted by the Cāḷukyas, was placed just below the *stūpi* in front of their whole shrine of Virūpākṣa at Paṭṭadakal.[105] This again was a Cāḷukya element which reappeared in the Pallava temple of Kailāsanātha at Kāñci[106] and therefore the resemblance between this shrine and that of Virūpākṣa at Paṭṭadakal is quite evident.

This frontal *kūḍu* descended down on the entrance of the temple almost above the *garbhagṛha*. The *sukhanāsi* and the *navaraṅga* were all covered by a roof in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñci and a similar mechanism was also employed at Paṭṭaḍakal.

Another feature the Cāḷukyas borrowed from the Pallavas was as regards filling up the niches or the *goṣṭapañjarams* with images. The Pallavas themselves adopted the style of filling up the walls with carvings but soon they improved this design by filling the niches with images, probably after the fashion of the Coḷas, who must have followed this practice earlier. This can be seen in the niche of the

Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñci where survive fine monolithic images of Śiva as Naṭarāja and other deities.[107] Similarly at Paṭṭadakal, Naṭarāja, Lakulīśa, Ardhanārīśvara and others occupy the niches.[108] The Pallavas did not employ the *ubapīṭam* or the pedestal for their shrines and likewise the Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭadakal shows only the *adhiṣṭhānam*[109] or the base.

One more feature which deserves notice is that both the *yālam*, the space between the *karṇakūḍu* or the *caitya*-window and the roof and the *akrapaṭṭiyāl*, the space below the pillars at Paṭṭadakal, are studded after the Pallava style, with the heads of lions.[110] This Pallava element finally found its way into Vijayanagara architecture and it will be dealt with in greater detail in the next chapter and later on.

Soon, however, the Cāḷukyas introduced new elements into their architecture. These were as regards the *vimāna* and the windows. The *vimāna* with vertical lines can be seen at Bhuvaneswar[111] and at Khajuraho[112] and the facades of these *vimānas* have their miniature prototypes carved on them. The temple besides the Saṅgameśvara shrine at Paṭṭadakal discloses exact imitations of this northern style. This northern *śikhara* disappeared after the Cāḷukyas and again found expression in the temples of Vijayanagara. Another device, utilised by the Cāḷukyas for their shrine windows, was the lattice screen which is met with in South Indian architecture for the first time,[113] and it was placed on either side of the niche (*goṣṭapañjaram*). This screen was taken up by the Kadambas and the Hoysaḷas with whom it became a marvel of ornamentation and ultimately survived in some of the Jaina *bastis* of the Vijayanagara era.

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa Architectural Features

The Western Cāḷukyas were in A.D. 757 crushed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, whose king Kṛṣṇa I overthrew the Cāḷukyan ruler Kīrtivarman II. As the Wāṇi grant of A.D. 807 relates he "quickly tore away the goddess of fortune from the Cāḷukya family, which was hard to be overcome by others".[114] This event must be placed after A.D. 757 which is the latest date known for Kīrtivarman II.[115]

Kṛṣṇa I constructed, as noted earlier, the elaborate shrine of Ellora called the Kailāsa temple, a structure far superior to the Virūpākṣa which served as its model. Its artistic superiority is thus extolled in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription of Kṛṣṇa I: "That king by whom, verily, was caused to be constructed a temple on the hill at Elapura (Ellora) of a wonderful structure, on seeing which the best of immortals, who move in celestial cars, struck with astonishment, think much constantly, saying 'Oh, who was it that built it?' "[116]

That this temple had for its model the Virūpākṣa shrine at Paṭṭadakal becomes evident if the plans of these two structures are compared.[117] Both the shrines have small flat-roofed cells or pavilions before entering the temple in front, crowned with little *vimānas*. Then followed the *ardhamaṇḍapa*, the *navaraṅga* and the *sukhanāsi*,

all identically flat-roofed. Even the *vimānas* had only two storeys in either case and the *stūpi* even in the Kailāsa temple is apparently in the Pallava style.

Now it is evident why the *kūḍu* or the *caitya*-window, with the face in the Kailāsa temple in front above the roof or the *koḍuṅgai*, was carved. This *kūḍu* is most probably a reminiscence of the second shrine placed above the roof itself, and it was first seen in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñci. The small wagon-roofed *vimānas* or pavilions of the *rathas* at Mahābalipuram are also placed at intervals on the ridges of the *vimāna* of the Kailāsa temple at Ellora. On these is impressed the *kūḍu* with the face itself which now slowly assumed the lip-shape which became fully developed in the Vijayanagara age, and it was stamped with the *caitya*-window, reminding us of a Pallava practice.[118]

Another element, which the Rāṣṭrakūṭas borrowed from the Cāḷukyas, was the perforated screen found in the windows of the Kailāsa temple at Ellora and the design of the six windows is almost identical with that of their originals in the Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭadakal.[119] The niches of the Cāḷukyas filled with figures were adopted by their conquerors and the Kailāsa temple has many of them. The walls of the temple *maṇḍapam* were adorned with various figures from the *Purāṇas* and the Epics. Hence we find Durgā as Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Rāvaṇa shaking the Kailāsa mountain, Śiva dancing his Tāṇḍavān and other images, all wonderfully executed. Therefore this is another example of the continuity and interaction of one style over another.

Architectural Developments under the Kadambas

South Indian architecture developed under the Kadambas. Cousens had mixed up all temples in Southern Mahārāshṭra and northern Karnāṭaka under the common denomination of Cāḷukyan architecture. But, in fact, not all the temples mentioned by him were Cāḷukyan. Tabard, earlier, had protested against such a generalisation in view of the existence of several shrines built by the Hoysaḷas who had adopted an entirely diffrent style as will be shown presently.

Political Background of the Kadamba Architecture

The Kadambas had preceded the Hoysaḷas and ruled independently in the western part of Karnāṭaka from the third to the sixth centuries together with Haiga (North Kanara) having their capital at Banavāsi. They were at first feudatories of the Pallavas and later became independent as can be seen from their Tāḷagunda inscription,[120] pushing eastwards and even further, towards Bellary and even further. But in the 7th century Pulikeśi II captured their capital Banavāsi as his Aihoḷe inscription reveals.[121] They dwindled for a time subsisting as prominent families. Their princess Divāṁbikā or Divaḷabbarasī was married to the Pallava-Noḷaṁba king Vīra Maheṅdra (A.D. 878-890). From the 10th century, the

Kadambas emerged again as rulers of minor provinces like those of Halsi, Hāṇagal, Manjarābād, Goa and other regions till the 14th century when they were absorbed by the Vijayanagara emperors. These details are necessary in order to know the extent of their influence, their political contacts and the areas where their architecture flourished, for they developed an architecture of their own.

Features of Kadamba Architecture

The Kadamba shrines had the entrance door just like the one which opens the Barbara cave of primitive days, as can be seen from the rectangular door of the main entrance to an early Kadamba shrine at Haḷe Banavāsi.[122] The door is plain and on the lintel in the centre there is a simple dedication stone which later became ornamented and on either side of it are two nail-like projections. This dedication stone was no invention of the Kadambas for it exists at Aihoḷe on the lintel of the shrine door of a temple beside the Konta-Guḍi and also on another shrine door.[123] This dedication stone later came to be adorned with the familiar sculpture of Gaja-Lakṣmī and the figure of Naṅdi in a few cases. Another plain door of an early Kadamba shrine is at Tāḷagunda.[124] The door is like the preceding one and what is noticeable are the two *dvārapālas*, which descended into Vijayanagara architecture. The Madhukeśvara temple, originally built by the Kadambas, was subsequently ornamented by the Hoysaḷas. This is what can be inferred on looking at the plain door way with *sukhanāsi* while either side of it is clogged with heavy ornamentation typical of the Hoysaḷas. The *dvārapālas* can be seen here much better and in bolder relief.[125]

A better example of this mixing up of Kadamba and Hoysaḷa architecture can be seen in the door of the *garbhagṛha* of a temple on the Bhairava Guḍḍa (Hill) near Haḷebīḍ. This is a very interesting piece of architecture. The lintel of the door evidently had been placed by the Kadambas as it contains the dedication stone on either side of which are the two pendant nails, but the profuse decoration on either side of it looks quite foreign when compared with the restraint of the either door. Moreover, the design of the lintel is purely Kadamba. Hence this is a fine example of an early Kadamba shrine embellished by the Hoysaḷas later. On the same Bhairava Guḍḍa there is a similar transition door leading to the *sukhanāsi* of an old Kadamba temple. Here again are the dedication stone, the pendant nails which are now fairly decorated and on either side of the door are the screens which, as noticed earlier, were adopted by the Cāḷukyas in adorning their windows.

But this device of placing screens beside the door was an entirely Kadamba feature. The screen was made up of small square holes which had some slight obstruction within the small spaces.[126] Probably the finest example of this transition door is found in the Kamala Nārāyaṇa temple, built by Kamalā Devī, the queen Kadamba of king Śivacitta of Goa. She fashioned this shrine, though a Kadamba princess, in a purely Hoysaḷa style, beautifying the jambs of the door and

adorning even the lintel with the screen. This screen was now beautified with a lovely lotus design, appearing very attractive and charming. But, owing to the invasion of the screen into even the lintel, the pendant nails have not disappeared, leaving the dedication stone embellished with a sculpture of Gaja Lakṣmī. The pendant nails can be seen not without but within.

The pillars next deserve consideration. In Kadamba temples the square pillar predominates and nevertheless the round ones can also be seen. As in all schools of architecture, the early pillars are plain, but soon ornamentation crept in and there was a strange blend of the round and square pillars. It was manipulated in this manner. The entire square pillar, rounded in the centre where it was shaped octagonally, was girdled with the *pittam*, an octagonal strap, which is also decorated. Below this was another belt which disappeared in later times. Both the *sadurams* (the *aśvapādam* formed of three cubical parts) were plain. The pillar was crowned with the lotus capital (*munai*) which now appeared like a closed wheel. Below this capital (*munai*), were now three small ridges which, on each side, were adorned with a leaf-like projection. Above the lotus capital (*munai*) was placed a double bracket: a combination of the Pallava and Coḷa capitals. But the pedestal was flanked with two ridges, which have on each facade of the pillar a small *kūḍu*, reminding us of its hoary pedigree.[127] The other square pillars were more or less variations of this typical example in the Kamala Nārāyaṇa temple at Degāṁve.[128] Probably the earliest examples of this style are to be found in the remaining pillars of the ruined Kallameśvara temple at Halsi.[129] This pillar reached its zenith of decoration in the Sarasvatī temple at Gadag, where the square pillar was almost encumbered completely with ornamentation. On each octagonal facet of the lower part of this pillar clearly arose large *kūḍus*, crowned with the *kīrtimukha* and the entire *kūḍu* adorned with some figures of men and animals.[130] Sometimes the Kadambas utilised the full straight pillar but comparatively thinner ones as in the Kadamba *maṇḍapa* at Devagiri.[131] The round pillar can be seen in many tamples, namely, in an old Kadamba shrine at Banavāsi where the pillar had lost its *aśvapādam* or the square pedestal while the complete structure with the lotus capital is intact[132] but nevertheless they are few.

The walls of the Kadamba shrines, beginning from the *adhiṣṭhānam* as they did not have the *ubapīṭam*, which was generally plain as can be seen from the temple of Śaṅkaradeva at Kadroḷi.[133] Sometimes the walls of these shrines were, as is the case of the Malleśvara temple at Koḍikoppa, with a screen after the Cāḷukyan fashion.[134] Soon ornamentation set in, as in the Varāha Narasiṁha temple at Halsi where, the plain wall of the previous shrines acquired a broad strap-like projection over the whole wall.[135] But this ornamentation reached its height when the Kadambas came into contact with the Hoysaḷa tradition. A typical instance of this influence can be noticed in the Kamala Nārāyaṇa temple at Degāṁve, where the double stripes are seen on the walls in two rows, while here and there appear the decorative pilaster (*kuṁbhapañjaram*). In addition there is the niche or the *goṣṭa-*

pañjaram of Coḷa origin but it is now empty and it would appear as though the Cāḷukyan sculptors did not forget to impress the Kadamba architect with their perforated screen windows of beautiful design.[136] The inner part of the temple was now better decorated as the decorative pilasters (*kumbhapañjaram*) on the parapet walls exemplify. These *kumbhapañjarams* are, after the slim pillars of the earlier Kadamba style, seen in the Kadamba *maṇḍapa* at Devagiri.[137] But on the flat capitals of these pilasters are the purely northern vertical *śikharas* which have vertical lines at Khajuraho and Bhuvaneswar and above these vertical *vimānas* are placed small *stūpis*. Between these *vimānas*, which have duplicates lodged within them, are figures of dancing girls, drummers and musicians. Below, between the pillars themselves, figures of rampant lions, which have now lost the curves of their Pallava counterparts, are graced with a visible mane found in Vijayanagara art as well later.[138] The lion was the Kadamba crest and more will be said about it in due course.

The *vimāna* of early Karnāṭaka temples probably comprised of a series of horizontal lines (*tālas*) without any decoration of smaller *vimānas* stamped with the *kūḍu* like those decorating the *rathas* of Mahābalipuram. On the other hand, these horizontal lines of the early Karanāṭaka *vimāna* are quite plain. Examples of this type in Karnāṭaka can be seen in some of the temples at Mahābaleshwar, not far from Bombay, at Vijayanagara itself and at Ānegundi. On the top of this pyramid was placed the rather Pallava type of *stūpi*[139] which was crowned with the *kalaśa*.

Soon a further development set in, in the shape of a tooth-like ornamentation, The earliest example of this motif is noticeable in the *vimāna* of the Śaṅkaradeva temple at Kadroḷi.[140] These projections were located at a distance of every three or four inches. Specimens of this typical Kadamba roof are found in the very midst of Cāḷukyan architecture at Aihoḷe.[141] Further examples of such a *vimāna* can be seen in the temples of Ramanātheśvara at Chittor. At Vijayanagara the so-called Jaina temple shrines have similar roofs but the vertical projections in the facets of the *vimāna* reveal evidently northern influence.

But again in the Kadamba temples themselves another decoration appeared in the shape of that projecting *caitya*-window (*kūḍu*) enclosing first met with in the Pallava temple of Kailāsanātha at Kāñcipuram. This *kūḍu* projection, adopted by the Kadambas, was much enlarged and fully blossomed, having behind it the horizontal lines of the *vimāna*. The whole of this projection covers almost the whole of the *navaraṅgas* in the Rāmeśvara temple at Halsi.[142] It is also seen in other shrines like the Madhukeśvara temple at Banavāsi[143] and the Varāha Narasiṁha temple at Halsi.[144]

Hoysaḷa Architectural Features: Political Background

The Hoysaḷas, on the subversion of the Gaṅgas by the Coḷas in A.D. 1004, rose to power in the west of Mysore (Karnāṭaka) and eventually in A.D. 1116 overcame

the Coḷas and ruled over the entire country till the 14th century. They had first acknowledged the supremacy of the Western Cāḷukyas, the inveterate enemies of the Coḷas and, in the days of Viṣṇuvardhana, became independent. Their capital was first at their birth-place Sosevūru (modern Aṅgaḍi, Mūḍgere Taluk), then at Belūr and finally at Dorasamudra now known as Haḷebīḍ which was adorned with many splendid buildings by Vinayāditya.[145]

Features of Hoysaḷa Architecture

The Hoysaḷas improved and perfected the architecture of the Kadambas and that is why it is necessary to ascertain a few more details about the latter some of which were furnished earlier. This cannot be better illustrated than in the consideration of the *vimāna* about which some account has already been given. The *vimāna* of the Kadambas consisted of a series of horizontal layers which tapered into a pyramid, each layer becoming smaller than the preceding one, with the tooth-like ornamentation on every layer and each shrine in front having a projecting *kūḍu* (*caitya*-window) over the *navaraṅga*. This was the *vimāna* which the Hoysaḷas took up and beautified. A fine specimen of this can be found in the Lakṣmī Devī Temple at Doḍḍa Goddavaḷḷi. This shrine or rather group of temples to be more precise from an architectural point of view, was one of the earliest Hoysaḷa shrines.[146] This is clearly well supported also by epigraphy. An inscription in the shrine tells us that during the reign of the Hoysaḷa king Viṣṇuvardhana, the great merchant Kullahaṇa Rāhuta and his wife Sahajā Devī, founded the village of Abhinava Kollāpura and caused to be erected in it this temple for the goddess Mahālakṣmī in A.D. 1113.[147] Hence the Hoysaḷas continued the artistic traditions of the Kadambas in the 12th century.

Immediately the Hoysaḷas introduced their innovations in temple architecture and they began to build temples in groups and at Doḍḍa Goddavaḷḷi there exists the largest group of five temples in one place. The *kūḍu* projection above the door was continued by the Hoysaḷas after the Kadamba style[148] and they continued the tooth-like projection even below this *kūḍu* projection. Over this reminiscence of the upper shrine, as it probably is, considering its origin, the Hoysaḷas placed their royal crest (*lāñcchana*) of Saḷa killing the Tiger or the Lion as it appears to be. Below this, the tooth-like decoration was prolonged and this looks like the projection of the vertical lines of the *śikharas* of Khajuraho and Pālitāna, reminding us of the northern style.[149]

The ridges of the Kadamba *vimāna*, it must be remembered, were close but the Hoysaḷas, so fond of crowded ornamention, soon began to separate these horizontal lines and between them they commenced to instal a series of the ancient Buddhist *caitya*-window, the *kūḍu* which now commenced to have on its crest the *kīrtimukha* while in the space of the window itself was now kept either a lovely opening flower or a full bust, adopting a similar Pallava practice. Consequently there are only two

ridges for the *vimāna* of the Lakṣmī Devī temple.[150]

In A.D. 1117 the Keśava temple of Belūr was built by king Viṣṇuvardhana.[151] Here the gorgeousness of Hoysaḷa decoration commenced to increase and the ridges of the *vimāna* over the shrine became crowded.[152] But in the Keśava temple at Somnāthpur, built by Narasiṁha III in A.D. 1268,[153] this ornamentation is perhaps seen at its best. On each ridge of the *vimāna* the details increase vertically forming almost a rather thick step reaching the top to the *stūpi* with a *kīrtimukha* over it. The niches began to have complete miniature *vimānas*.[154] These niches enclose images whose stone jewellery is nothing less than a most remarkable achievement in sculpture. This decoration begins from the very base of the temple, going all round the shrine and consequently a typical Hoysaḷa shrine has ornamentation from the moulding *akrapaṭṭiyāl* to the *kalaśa*.[155]

This element of gorgeousness ascended even to the perforated screens of Cāḷukyan origin, adopted by the Hoysaḷas. In the Keśava temple at Belūr the entire screen is usually carved with exceeding skill.[156] In it at times the *darbār* of Viṣṇuvardhana is sculptured[157] or, as at Narsāpur, the whole of the *Rāmāyaṇa* over it.[158] The Hoysaḷa screen was of three types: one having two round holes, the other a square inset with a single star-shaped stone[159] and the third where the whole screen had partitions between. The Hoysaḷa craftsmen continued to construct the round and square pillars. The former can be seen in the Lakṣmī Devī temple at Doḍḍa Goddavaḷḷi. Soon this pillar had many circles carved into it and over its lotus capital was placed the large flat slab called the *palagai*.[160] Similar examples are also seen on the parapets of the Keśava temple at Somnāthpur[161] and probably the finest specimens are to be found in the Keśava temple at Belūr. The lotus capital or the *munai* is closed here and the *kalaśa* of the entire pillar here assumes a distinct shape being clearly visible without any sculpture on it. But resting on the closed lotus capital are often kept images of exceeding grace and beauty.[162]

The square pillar is more often seen. In the earliest Hoysaḷa temple this type of pillar is employed for the niche or the *goṣṭapañjaram*. It is very plain and straight but the flat slab over the lotus capital (*palagai*) is purposely enlarged obviously to support the *vimāna* placed above it while the decorative pilaster too is formed of the same type.[163] Between the small *vimānas* of these pilasters are carved the rampant lions first noticed on the parapet of the Kamala Nārāyaṇa temple at Degāṁve and later in the Keśava temple at Belūr. Sometimes this plain square pillar was almost cut into different sections while the entire pillar was made octagonal.[164]

In the Lakṣmī Devī shrine sometimes on this square pillar the vase (*kalaśa*) stands out clearly with the eight sides marked out on it.[165] This *kalaśa* in the Keśava temple at Belūr was carved with two distinct lines. Moreover, the square pillar of the niches (*goṣṭapañjaram*)became ornate and duplicate in one. Often the bracket over this square pillar is merely an adaptation of the Kadamba capital which itself was a combination of suppressed Pallava and Coḷa corbels.[166] Soon, however, the pillars of the niche took a round shape in which the *kalaśa* could be easily distinguished.

Perhaps the Hoysaḷa pillars both round and square in their acme of perfection, skill and beauty are seen in the Keśava temple at Belūr.

The plain door of the Kadambas disappeared for ever from Hoysaḷa architecture. In one of the earliest Hoysaḷa shrines a Kadamba lintel was employed in order to frame a door-way of the Lakṣmī Devi temple at Doḍḍa Goddavaḷḷi.[167] In the Keśava temple at Belūr a distinct improvement may be noted. The plain lintel, having disappeared, is filled with crowned figures. Above the pillars on either side lay two fully decorated conventional crocodiles (*makara*) and, at the base of the pillars are not one pair, as in the Kadamba tamples, but three pairs of door-keepers (*dvārapālas*).[168] In the Keśava shrine at Somnāthpur, these guardians of the door of the temple and, at a little distance down below, two small pavilions are specially built for them. The old custom of the Cāḷukyas and especially of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas to build a parapet wall round the *navaraṅga* and the *ardhamaṇḍapa* was continued by the Hoysaḷas on either side unto the very doors completely ornamented.

The dedication stone was retained by the Hoysaḷas in the Keśava temple at Somnāthpur[169] and the door itself very elaborately decorated.[170]

The exterior of the temple was another feature in temple construction. The Kadamba temples suffered from almost a lack of ornamentation on their walls while the Kamala Nārāyaṇa temple was the first Kadamba shrine, built in the Hoysaḷa style, which adopted this new method of filling the bare walls with figures. In the Lakṣmī Devī temple at Doḍḍa Goddavaḷḷi in the commencement the Hoysaḷas filled up their walls only with the *kuṁbhapañjarams* or the pilasters on either side of which was placed the *goṣṭapañjaram* or the niche.[171] This restaint reminds us of the Vijayanagara usage. Those niches, which remained empty in the Lakṣmī Devī temple, were filled with images of deities. In the Keśava temple at Belūr, the miniature *vimānas*, appearing on the walls, stand often without any niche (*kuṁbhapañjaram*) excepting only the *vimāna* above and the ornament is not quite full.[172] In the Keśava temple at Somnāthpur are erect figures fully jewelled and each one among them has a *kūḍu* over it.[173]

Now only the *vimāna* remains to be dealt with in Hoysaḷa architecture. On the base of the *vimāna*, just above the roof, the Hoysaḷas commenced to raise elongated *kūḍus* and this was one of the elements which was borrowed from them by the Vijayanagara craftsmen.

A Composite Shine at Śṛiṅgeri

The Vidyāśaṅkara temple at Śṛiṅgeri, ascribed to the early rulers of Vijayanagara, is built on elevated ground within 50 yards of the river Tuṅgā, facing the east. It is constructed on a platform with a high basement 5′ in height with cornices 8′ high. The material for constructing this temple is from granite in a quarry in Śṛiṅgeri itself.

The Plan of the Temple

The plan of this shrine is unlike that of any Vijayanagara temple which will be dealt with presently. Its eastern and western ends are two apses (semi-circles) which are joined by an oblong block so that the entire structure appears like an oval with its central sides straight. This temple has certain peculiarities, which deserve attention. It has neither a *mukhamaṇḍapa* nor a porch. Its *navaraṅga* contains twelve ornate pillars whose upper portions enshrine, in the walls, rows of turrets which shelter large images. Behind each pillar, out of a *kalaśa*, issues an ornamented pilaster, crowned with one of the twelve signs of the zodiac. The central ceiling of this *navaraṅga*, more than sixteen feet in height, with an excellent design has a lotus (*padma*) in its dome and an immense pendant serves as a perch for charming birds. This high ceiling was made possible by a corbelled construction and its weight rests on huge brackets. Behind this *navaraṅga* is the circumambulatory passage (*pradakṣiṇa*) which is narrow and goes round the *sukhanāsi* and the *garbhagṛha*. This passage enshrines niches in which are lodged images of deities like Gaṇeśa, Brahma, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara and Durgā, revealing the eclectic nature of the faith of the builders, the emperors of Vijayanagara. The *sukhanāsi* is wide and is connected with a semi-circular *pradakṣiṇa* and a *navaraṅga* with a large central square. This usage is reminiscent of the Cāḷukyan Viṣṇu temple at Aihoḷe where such a construction exists. The circular back is no doubt a typical feature of Hoysaḷa temple architecture, like the bands and the cornices of the same school offering a pleasant contrast of light and shade.

Other Features of This Temple

The walls of this shrine are not empty or blank but have friezes in the typical Vijayanagara style. In this case there are eight friezes adorned as follows: the lowest has a row of horses with accoutrements, also a Hoysaḷa design, and occasionally led by riders. The second frieze has a similar row of elephants in various poses. The third is a band of cornices with a rope ornamentation. The horse and elephant scheme is usually noticed in Hoysaḷa temples but in Vijayanagara temples their appearance varies, while in the case of the Hoysaḷa temples it is identical and rather monotonous. Similarly the fourth frieze depicts a series of lions, a characteristic Hoysaḷa emblem about which more will be said later. The fifth frieze has eaves with drops at the base and a row of lion-headed *kīrtimukhas*. In the sixth frieze there are little panels depicting scenes from the *Purāṇas*, religious traditions, and so forth. The chief topics portrayed are the life of Ādi Śaṅkarācārya, the Arjuna-Śiva (as a Kirāta) combat sculptured exquisitely, Śaṅkarācārya teaching his disciples, and *yogis* in different poses. The seventh and eighth bands have cornices with rows of Yakṣas. The walls have large figures which are usually placed beneath some kind of arch usually in the cases of the common deities but,

in exceptional and important deities, they are installed in niches with ornamented arches (*toraṇas*) to crown them. The deities usually represented are the great Paurāṇic gods, the ten incarnations (*Daśa Avatāras*) of Viṣṇu, various poses of Śiva and his *Śakti*, Veṅkaṭeśa, Vyāsa, Śaṅkarācārya, Gaṇeśa and so forth.

The temple has six entrances: they are symmetrically placed, three in the east and three in the west.

The roof has certain characteristics. It has only a slight lip-like projection for the rain-water to flow down. At specified places, particularly at the four corners, there are stone ring chains intended for hanging lamps especially during worship and festivals. The roof over the *navaraṅga* is flat but over the *pradakṣiṇa* and the *sukhanāsi* are two *vimānas*. The roof over the *pradakṣiṇa* is small with two tiers and their corresponding central windows while over the *garbhagṛha* rises the larger one with the main *vimāna* having three tiers, crowned with a *kalaśa*.

All these elaborate designs make it doubtful whether it can be characaterised as a specimen of early Vijayanagara architecture, as it depicts too elaborate a scheme for an early structure. Nevertheless it is a fine structure and a good example of the absorption of the Cāḷukyan and Hoysaḷa architectural features of architecture which the Vijayanagara craftsmen adopted in their own temple structures. This temple may be assigned to the 15th century when Vijayanagara architecture had begun to develop but had not reached its zenith as it did in the 16th century during the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya.

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29 Ibid., pl. LIX.
30 Ibid., pl. LIV.
31 Dubreuil, *Archaeologie Du Sud L'Inde*, tome I, 1, pl. XXVII.
32 Ibid., pl. XI.
33 Ibid., pl. XII, Havell, op. cit.. LXXII.
34 Coomaraswamy, *Indian and Indonesian Art*, pl. XII (43).
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36 Havell, *Ancient and Medieval Architecture*, pl. LIII. Elephanta is a misnomer once given by the ignorant Portuguese to the ancient island of Ghārāpuri.
37 Dubreuil, op. cit., XVII.
38 Havell, op. cit., pl. XLIII.
39 Dubreuil, op. cit., pl. XXI A and B.
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63 Cf. Dubreuil, *Dravidian Architecture*, fig. 26.
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70 *E.I.*, III, p. 280. The general belief is that Pulakeśi II was killed by Narasiṁhavarman, cf. Fleet, *DKD*, p. 26 (ed. 1882). There is, however, no positive proof in support of this conjecture.
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CHAPTER THREE

VIJAYANAGARA ARCHITECTURE (RELIGIOUS)

THE architecture of Vijayanagara may be divided into religious, civil and military spheres from which the first may be taken up for study in the present chapter. The Vijayanagara emperors created almost out of chaos a new empire and it was not strange that they developed a new architecture which was also composite as it absorbed in its frame-work most of the select elements of the previous schools of architecture already discussed. It synthesised them within it in such a manner that it came to be known as a distinctive style which prevailed over the vast dominion of Vijayanagara emperors which stretched from the Kṛṣṇa down to the utmost limits of our peninsula and even at times, as noted earlier, including Ceylon which formed at one period one of their provinces. As this distinctive quality of this architecture was not earlier recognised, Rea had observed that "as regards the style of Vijayanagara there is hardly anything to single it out"[1] while Vincent Smith dubbed it as "local" and "semi-barbaric", both being completely ignorant of the characteristics of this new style of architecture which came into existence in the 14th century and lasted for over four centuries throughout South India which they ruled during that period.

Vijayanagara architecture was of three types : religious, dealing with their temples, civil, concerning their non-religious structures, secular relating to Hindu-Islamic structures and military, pertaining to their forts and fortified towns and cities. When discussing their temple architecture, an attempt will be made to

examine how far and if at all their temples were original and if not, to what extent they were derivative. Civil architecture will involve a scrutiny of their domestic buildings and the manner in which their towns were constructed while military architecture will concern their forts and defence organisations of a similar nature.

Introductory Remarks

Before dealing with the technical details of the Vijayanagara temple structure, a few remarks about the origin and development of this school may not be out of place so that we may obtain a full picture of the Vijayanagara temple from its very commencement till it blossomed into full growth and then from the 17th century its decadence began and later on it almost faded out. The Vijayanagara type of architecture includes various types of buildings some of which were Śaivite, some Vaiṣṇavite and some Jaina but none Buddhist, since Buddhism had disappeared as a religious creed by the commencement of the 14th century in Southern India. But, unlike Buddhism, Jainism continued to survive and still does in some parts of Karnāṭaka. In this conglomeration of structures can be found simple halls (*maṇḍapas*), whose horizontal ceilings rest on beams supported by pillars of alternatingly square and octagonal cross-sections adorned with small reliefs and culminating in the ornamental abacus (*puṣpaboḍigai*), *pañjarams*, or "little windows" along the edge of the roof, which were mostly replaced by shallow brick *caitya*-windows enshrining deities and mythical scenes from the epics and the *Purāṇas*.

The beginnings of Jaina architecture in the Vijayanagara period may be traced in the capital itself. The Gaṇigitti (Oil Woman's) temple at Kamalāpuram en route to "Bhīma's Gate" was, according to an inscription found there, built by Irugappa, the minister and general of Harihara II and known as the Kuṇḍu Jinanātha *Caityālaya*.[2] This Jaina temple facing the north has a *garbhagṛha*, with an *antarāla*, *ardhamaṇḍapa* and a *mahāmaṇḍapa* with an attached little shrine facing the east. Its pillars reveal an early heavy cubical type and over them is a *gopura*-like structure with six steps (*tālas*) growing smaller as they rise in their plain horizontal slabs (*tāla*). Its necking (*grīva*) is square and the pyramid is capped by a domical *śikhara*. The *mahāmaṇḍapa* has in front of it a tall *mānastambha* on which appears the above cited epigraph.

The beginnings of Vijayanagara architecture can be traced in the Hemakūṭa Hill Temple where its pillars are almost plain with little or negligible ornamentation. This structure on the Hemakūṭa Hill must have been built shortly after the establishment of the empire in A.D. 1346[3] but it did not take long for the Vijayanagara craftsmen to give a full and concrete expression to their own and characteristic style of architecture. A typical example of this type of architecture can be found in the Saṅgīta *Maṇḍapa* built by the famous minister and general of Bukka Rāya II (A.D. 1399-1406), Irugappa *Daṇḍanāyaka*. He built it in *Parābhava*

(A.D. 1387-88), namely, thiry-one years after the establishment of the empire, at the instance of his Jaina preceptor Puṣpasena and in the bargain he had also had that *maṇḍapa* paved with granite.[4] The architecture of the Saṅgīta *Maṇḍapa* is quite distinct from that of the adjacent *mukhamaṇḍapa* of the Vardhamāna temple which was a Coḷa construction built in the later Coḷa period (A.D. 1070-1250). It has carved eaves (*koḍuṅgai*) or cornices found in all other parts of this *maṇḍapam*. In its north-eastern corner appear a number of lotus petal designs, placed one above the other, as though to indicate that the entire structure is based on or modelled after the lotus petal (*padma*) which became very ornate in Vijayanagara architecture, in the 15th and 16th centuries as will be shown presently and even florid in the 17th century when its decadence may be said to have set in. The pillars of this Saṅgīta *Maṇḍapa* are all uniformly plain in the typical early Vijayanagara style lacking all the elaborate finish and intricacy of detail and ornamentation found in the later Vijayanagara temples which can be traced in the Kalyāṇa *Maṇḍapas* of the shrines at Vellore and the Varadarāja temple at Kāñci. This Saṅgīta *Maṇḍapa* has a *gopura* or a tower over the *garbhagṛha* of moderate dimensions, built of granite excepting the top two tiers which are of stucco brick. It is surprising why, although the Vijayanagara craftsmen had so many models of architecture, most of which have already been noticed, they chose to build such a type of *vimāna* with shallow brick "chapels" containing stucco reliefs of deities and mythical scenes. This type became quite common throughout South India although they must have been well aware that the ravages of time and climate would endanger their permanence whereas, had they been built entirely of granite available in plenty in the locality, they would have lasted as long as the Coḷa and similar monuments. These *vimānas* were adorned with scenes in their tiers from either Jaina or Hindu scriptures. In the case of the Saṅgīta *Maṇḍapa vimāna* there are illustrations from the life of Agnilā (Aṁbikā). There is a peculiarity in this style of construction of a *vimāna* and that is of a miniature empty door in the centre of it and it was duplicated as the *vimāna* tapered upwards, growing smaller and the central door too in the process along with the standing figures. On the top of the third tier, namely, the roof, it was crowned with four vases (*kalaśas*).[5]

In the 15th century such *maṇḍapams* became more ornate and imposing. At Lepākṣi the Asaṁpūrṇa (unfinished) Kalyāṇa *Maṇḍapa* also called the Aṣṭadikpāla *Maṇḍapam* has a series of columns bearing remarkable figures of deities of the Eight Quarters. These images, carved between the pedestal (*aśvapāda*) and the flowering corbel (*puṣpaboḍigai*), stand precisely like the ten Nāyaka statues in the Pudu Maṇṭapa at Madurai. These deities are of equal size but their vehicles (*vāhanas*) are not seen. Though these images have been left without any roof, the reason not being recorded or precisely known, they have still survived the vicissitudes of five centuries.

The Kalyāṇa *Maṇḍapa* in the same locality is dedicated to Śiva and Pārvatī on the occasion of their marriage. It is rich in figurative and decorative sculpture,

modest in proportions but exquisite in nuances. The various guardians (*dikpālas*), sages (*ṛṣis*) and saints (*yogis*) looking distant and serene, have in their forms a kindling warmth and irresistible grace.

In this period the Vijayanagara craftsmen began to adopt the Hoysaḷa model of architecture which they had at first not followed as will be noticed soon, as though for a change. At Lepākṣi there are three temples in one, precisely, like the Hoysaḷa shrine at Haḷebīḍ or Somnāthpur and elsewhere in their dominions. The main shrine in this case is dedicated to Vīrabhadra, who had emerged from the matted locks (*jaṭā*) of the infuriated Śiva for specifically destroying his father-in-law Dakṣa who had been responsible for Pārvatī's death. The other two temples are of Pāpanāseśvara (Destroyer of Sin), an aspect of Śiva, and Raghunātha (Śrī Mahāviṣṇu).

In the 16th century this model developed further into more ornate structures. At Vijayanagara the craftsmen constructed groups of small structures, a variation of the Hoysaḷa practice, instead of single and large temples. The most famous of such shrines is probably the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple begun in A.D. 1513 by Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya and considered "incomplete"[6] though without much justification. As it is, it hardly gives the impression that it was left incomplete. The most striking feature of this structure is the immense pillared hall with fifty-six pillars, each twelve feet in height, each a complete sculptured group, adorned with a typical motif of rearing stallions trampling on some foes or evil spirits and other fantastic monsters. The entire structure is housed in a rectangular compound or courtyard, 500 feet long and 310 feet wide, comprising two *maṇḍapas* and a *garbhagṛha*, 230 feet in length and 25 feet in height. These 56 columns, each 12 feet in height, flowering into immense brackets and entablatures, struck the foreign visitor Paes (A.D. 1520-22) so much that he called them "Romanesque . . . so well executed" and they appeared to him "as if made in Italy".[7] *Maṇḍapas* more elaborate than those at Vijayanagara were built at Kāñci, Śrīraṅgam, Vṛncipuram, (Virincipuram in N. Arcot District, Tamil Nadu) and other places.

The Material for Architecture

The material employed by the Vijayanagara craftsmen, about whom more will be said, was especially in the capital and also to a great extent in their provinces, the local granite. Blue stone and also black stone were also utilised but not as often and as profusely as the granite which is still largely obtainable in that locality and was not required to be imported or transported. Blue and black stone were obviously imported from places not in the neighbourhood of the city or of the provincial capitals even later on. Some of the existing temples reveal how the craftsmen had cut or hewn this material for fashioning their temples or statues. In view of this rather unyielding and rough material, the Vijayanagara craftsmen could not produce the effects of smoothness, precision and detail seen in other

types of architecture like that of the Hoysaḷas and sculpture of many other schools in India. Sometimes these artists used the dark-green chlorite stone especially during the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya (A.D. 1509-30) in the capital and this type of stone can be seen in the frame-work of certain front and western parts of the House of Victory in the metropolis itself. Such a type of stone was utilised very rarely and, owing to its clearly better nature, the products produced from it were of a superior quality when compared with the granite. The blue stone was also used in localities like Tuḷuva and Tāḍpatri though not profusely and the effect was charming. It was not employed more often obviously, as it was not available in the localities in plenty. Black stone was also adopted in the construction of immense monoliths like the Gummaṭa (Gomaṭa) at Kārkaḷa (cf. infra chs. on Imagery and Sculpture) from the locality and in many other places.

The Ground Plan

The Vijayanagara craftsmen immediately altered the very ground-plan of the Hoysaḷa temple which they had observed all around them. Such a shrine was star-like in shape and the Hoysaḷas, as noted earlier, had commenced the practice of building groups of temples encircling the main shrine itself.[8] The *garbhagṛha* was suddenly made square and an example of this innovation can be found in the small Viṣṇupāda temple at Vijayanagara. The *garbhagṛha* alone singularly exists either in this or in another equally early Vijayanagara structure on the southern side of the so-called zenāna, Raṅga's temple. The *pradakṣiṇa* evidently was a later addition. Nor can the *prākāra* be noticed in such early shrines and even on the Mataṅga Parvata which is one of the sites where one could trace some of the beginnings of Vijayanagara architecture. The single square of pavilions like the Sāsiva Kallu *Maṇḍapa* and all those structures on the Hemakūṭa Hill, which pertain to a very early period since it was one of the celebrated spots from the days of Bukka I,[9] later on developed into a real temple when the *sukhanāsi*, *navaraṅga*, *prākāra* and *pradakṣiṇa* came to be added in course of time. For example, in the Under Ground temple or the Prasanna Virūpākṣa temple, a shrine of Śiva, has a *pradakṣiṇa* exactly similar to that of the Viṭṭhaḷasvāmi temple. This shrine has the *pradakṣiṇa* which was not employed by the Hoysaḷas but which, nevertheless, was utilised by the Cāḷukyas and the Pallavas and probablity of its Buddhist origin has already been examined. Especially in this temple, the *pradakṣiṇa* is surprisingly lower than the floor of the *sukhanāsi* and the *garbhagṛha* and, but for one or two openings in the ceilings it would be in complete darkness. At right angles to the *garbhagṛha* itself are the two entrances to this *pradakṣiṇa* leading down a flight of four steps into the *pradakṣiṇa* itself. This *pradakṣiṇa* was purposely introduced by the Vijayanagara architects as can well be seen from the plan of the Kṛṣṇa temple at Vijayanagara itself. Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya built this shrine just after his return from his victorious campaign at Udayagiri in A.D. 1513.[10] The temple of Kṛṣṇasvāmi here has only

the *garbhagṛha*, the *sukhanāsi* and the *navaranga*.[11] But Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, when constructing this temple, in Vijayanagara or rather in Kṛṣṇapura itself, added the *pradakṣiṇa* to it.

There were certain further developments in the structure of the temple in Vijayanagara temples. The Acyuta Rāya's temple[12] has two *prākāras*. To the first *prākāra* is an entrance over which was erected a huge *gopura* or tower, much larger than the *vimāna* over the *garbhagṛha*. The southern side also has a small opening but the *gopura* over this door-way seems to have been comparatively small. The second *prākāra* has entrances on all sides, excepting on the side behind the shrine and of all these *gopuras* the remains of that which is in front reveal that it must have been the largest of all these three towers. The temple now itself is a complete shrine with the *garbhagṛha*, *sukhanāsi*, *navaranga* and even the *ardhamaṇḍapa*. All these vestibules, including the *navaranga* were sheltered with a roof. This roof was of one level and over the *garbhagṛha* was raised the *vimāna* which is quite small, in striking contrast to the Coḷa practice. At Penukoṇḍa too in the Rāmasvāmi temple, dedicated to Rāma, standing close to the royal palace is visible the *pradakṣiṇa* and this circuit was flanked by a roofed corridor. The Īśvara temple besides is similar in plan and structure.[13] Likewise the temple of Sundareś-vara, built in the 17th century by Tirumala Nāyaka, the recalcitrant feudatory of the Vijayanagara empire, reveals the same plan.

Strangely within the *pradakṣiṇa* itself are shrines dedicated to other deities. The *prākāra* of the Śrī Sundareśvara temple contains two shrines, one in the front and one to the left of the main temple called the Madura Nāyaka temple and the Ellamvata Siddha shrine.[14] This practice was only a variation of their masters the Vijayanagara emperors, who had followed the Hoysaḷa models. For example the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple at Vijayanagara itself has in its *pradakṣiṇa* the well-known stone car, which is more realistic than the Pallava *rathas* or the Dārāsuram temple of the Coḷas in the 12th century. Finally, in the ground plan of the Aghoreśvara temple at Ikkeri, built by the Keḷadi chiefs, the same principles are discernible but the *ardhamaṇḍapa* in front is larger than the *garbhagṛha* itself with a small pavilion in the centre.

In the Jaina *basadis* of the earliest type in Vijayanagara, surviving on the Hema-kūṭa Hill, we find what have been styled the triple-celled (*trikūṭācala*) with super-structures of the peculiar stepped pyramidal varieties.[15] Most of them hardly have any icons in the *garbhagṛha*. All of them have a common *ardhamaṇḍapa*, a front porch and walls with large rectangular slabs, adorned with a central horizontal strip. Their ground is identically square, and originally they are suspected to have been "undoubtedly Śaiva temples."

Technical Details of the Vijayanagara Temple

The Vijayanagara craftsmen added certain or omitted other details in the

construction of their shrines, many of which had survived from early times like those of the Pallavas, Coḷas and others. The first innovation of the Vijayanagara craftsmen was in the elevation on which the entire temple was erected and consequently it came below the *upānam* itself. This system of classification was no doubt an ancient custom for in the *Mānasāra* twelve types of the base (*adhiṣṭhānam*) are mentioned.[16] In South India too this method of building a temple was followed. This was but natural when even the Buddhists had adopted a somewhat though not exactly similar ornamentation in their *caityālayas*.[17] This elevation is seen neither in Pallava nor in Coḷa shrines,[18] but it first came into South Indian art with the Pāṇḍyas and after them the Kadambas adopted it. In the Jaṁbukeśvara temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai this feature first made its appearance in South Indian architecture. It is completely plain and gives a touch of dignity to the entire shrine owing to the slight elevation which it affords.[19] In Malleśvara temple at Koḍikopa[20] or even in the Tārakeśvara temple at Hānagal[21] this feature reappears. In the former the whole wall of the temple is bare but at Hānagal, probably the influences of the Hoysaḷas became apparent and so the star-shaped flower, which the Kadambas loved so well, is carved on it. The Hoysaḷas, their successors, naturally took it up and simply thronged it with a series of elephants,[22] which however are not sanctioned by the *Mānasāra*.[23] In Vijayanagara times in some temples especially the early ones, even of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's reign, such as the Hazāra Rāma temple there is no ornamentation on this elevation of the base.[24] But naturally in this monarch's reign, when Vijayanagara art attained its zenith, decoration slowly began to blossom into flower. Thus in the finest shrine of the Vijayanagara age, the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple this space is filled not with the series of the usual elephants but of Portuguese *fidalgos* leading their horses from Ormuz in a sedate procession. This feature reveals that the Vijayanagara craftsmen were not blindly imitative but they were also exceptionally tolerant, evidently with the approval of their rulers, for it was a unique spirit of forbearance which pervaded even the temples of their gods.[25] This spiritual amity was continued by the Madura Nāyakas in their architecture. Though both the Aghoreśvara and Parameśvara temples distinctly possess this basic elevation, neither of these temples reveal any ornamentation on this part of the shrine.[26]

Above this rose the *upānam*, which was quite plain from Coḷa times, first came to be filled with the Kadamba star-like leaf in the Tārakeśvara temple at Hānagal.[27] Later in the Hoysaḷa era it was filled with soldiers riding horses in a somewhat stereotyped manner.[28] In early Vijayanagara shrines like the Kaḍalekallu Gaṇeśa temple, it was not only plain but even small.[29] Nevertheless, in the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple it was adorned with a scroll of vines and similar linear ornamentation.

The lotus has always played an important part in Indian art (cf. ch. VII). There is little doubt that it was an imitation of a real lotus flower. This type of the lotus capital is first found in an image of Śrī Lakṣmī and it is also seen at Bhārhut. This type of decoration might well have existed even prior to the second century A.D. though at present no such specimen is forthcoming.

But this motif was not without any significance. The reason why the lotus-flower or rather its petals have been invariably represented at the base of a temple as well as on its pillars, is probably to be sought in its affinity with water, the root or source of life. In the *Ṛgveda* the lotus is often associated with the lake.[30] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* goes further, stating that "the lotus means the waters."[31] The *Yajurveda* addresses the lotus thus: "Thou art the back of the waters;" adding that "this back of the earth lies spread on the waters."[32] It is therefore not surprising that Hindu craftsmen attempted to link the shrine with immortality.

The South Indian sculptor utilised the symbolism of the lotus by making its petals as one of the bases of the temple above the *upānam* and it has been called in Tamil the *padmam* or the lotus itself. This, of course, was no innovation for the *padmabandha* was one of the nineteen varieties of bases in the *Mānasāra*.[33] Possibly the *Śilpa Śāstras* were spread traditionally over the whole of south India or it cannot be accounted how these southern craftsmen employed the same motifs in constructing shrines as in the north. This was a feature of Vijayanagara craftsmanship which was probably derived from Pāṇḍyan art. In no other school of architecture, which had preceded that of Vijayanagara, has this element appeared as a decoration excepting in the Jambukeśvara temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. This once more proves that the emperors of Vijayanagara followed not only classical models but created a composite art which borrowed several elements from previous schools. In the base of the Sundara Pāṇḍya *gopura* of the Jambukeśvara temple the *padmam* or the lotus of the base is clearly separate and apart from one another.[34] But in the shrines of Vijayanagara the lotuses (*padmam*) are closer and the petals of the lotus itself a little more raised, but later on this element entirely disappeared.

Just above this emblem was carved another moulding, the *kumudam* (white water lily or red lotus) which is one among the forty-seven mouldings mentioned in the *Mānasāra*.[35] This *kumudam* can be seen in the Coḷa temples like the Subrahmaṇya temple at Thanjāvūr, quite unadorned and rather protruding outside.[36] Between this and the *padmam* the space left is almost equal in the Sundara Pāṇḍya as well as in the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temples. But, though in the former the *kumudam* is plain and looks as though it were lacking in something, in the temples of Vijayanagara it is carved with the ridges from above and below with a band-space left in front and this too was filled up with different designs.

This *kumudam* is not seen in the Hoysaḷa temples where it is all covered up with slabs having designs of vines and flowers.[37] This addition contributed only to the superfluity of the ornamentation. Such exuberance was relevantly eschewed by the Vijayanagara craftsmen who, in the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple, have left us the finest temple in South Indian architecture.

Above this came the *kandam*, another element of design in temple architecture. This motif existed in South Indian shrines from the beginnings of South Indian art. The Subrahmaṇya temple at Thanjāvūr,[38] the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcipuram,[39] the Basavaṇṇadeva at Beḷagāmve,[40] all show this element in succession. Like the

preceding moulding this too is hidden by a closely sculptured slab in the Hoysaḷa shrines.[41] But the Vijayanagara sculptors probably made the finest use of this space occupied by this moulding. In the Pāṇḍyan Jaṁbukeśvara temple this space was comparatively very small and, though it was filled with figures which, owing to their minuteness, became almost indistinguishable. This feature, from an architectural point of view, contributed little towards enhancing the elegance of the structure or even any apparent utility. Moreover in the same shrine, over this *kaṅdam* was carved the *akrapaṭṭiyāl* and above it, quite similar to the *kaṅdam*, another strip of space equally broad which was likewise filled with figures.[42] It is possible that the Vijayanagara craftsman found it rather irksome to carve unnecessarily these two *kaṅdams* and so instead he thronged this space with incidents from the social life he saw around him. This long frieze was conveniently partitioned into proportionate compartments which the sculptor filled with carvings of dancing girls, kings witnessing a dance or receiving ambassadors or many memories of those days. This division of mouldings is similar to identical sections of Javanese sculptures which are certainly far more elaborate than these.

The *vedigayi* came above the *kaṅdam* and it was after all an inverted *padmam*. In the *adhiṣṭhānam* of the Thanjāvūr temple it was placed on the base of the *kumudaṁ* itself.[43] This design was not blindly imitated by the Pāṇḍyas who, on the other hand, placed the *padmam* on the *vedigayi* itself.[44] Neither the Kadambas[45] nor the Hoysaḷas[46] adopted this design but the Vijayanagara craftsman utilised this moulding and by considerably enlarging it, made it descending like the upper human lip in a continuous line but marked it with partitions in the moulding itself. Particularly noticeable is the difference between this *vedigayi* and the *padmam*, which are somewhat similar to those in Pāṇḍyan shrines; in Vijayanagara shrines this elongation went a long way in beautifying the entire base of the temple itself.

The Pillars: their Nature and Types

Over this floor stood the pillars, whose evolution in Vijayanagara art can be traced with considerable success. Almost the beginnings of the pillar structure in Vijayanagara itself are discoverable on the Mataṅga Parvata which was well-known from the reign of Bukka I[47] as it was a spot earlier than the empire itself. The pillars here are the simplest one could think of, being plain, rectangular, long blocks of granite, with a crude piece of smaller stones to serve for the capital. These pillars must have been certainly of early Vijayanagara types and their nature can be compared with those of the Octagonal Hindu Bath in order to determine their similarity and early origins.

Soon this plain pillar began to take another shape which can be traced in the same pavilion on the Mataṅga Parvata. There, the pillars to the right were cut into *sadurams* or square partitions in the middle and the distance between each *saduram* is now plain but later it was made octagonal. Such pillars are also seen in the

rather crude pavilions which flank either side of the street leading from Hospet to Vijayanagara. This is the pillar fully formed in its initial stage. The small Viṣṇu temple beside the Sāsivakallu Gaṇeśa *Maṇḍapa* also contains pillars[48] quite similar to those on the Mataṅga Parvata and in the Hindu Octagonal Bath. These square pillars closely resemble the early pillars of the Pallavas at Mahābalipuram or in the caves of Tiruchirapalli.[49]

But of course the Vijayanagara capital was quite different from that of the Pallavas. Over this square pillar, now divided into *sadurams*, was placed the closed lotus *munai* and above it the broad slab or the *palagai* with the lotus petals, three on each facade slowly protruding from each side. This capital was exactly reproduced in the Jaina Bhairava *Maṇḍapa* at Mūḍubidri. In this small pavilion near the so-called Jaina *bastis*, over these capitals was placed the *palagai* or broad flat slab of two double brackets, a feature never met with in the preceding currents of South Indian art and this was probably resorted only to elevate the whole pavilion itself.

The *saduram* of this square pillar, which was rather suddenly broken, came to possess a leaf-like ornament called in Tamil the *nāgabandham*, on account of its similarity to a cobra-hood, which though not extant in Pallava architecture, appeared in Vijayanagara art at Tiruparuttikunram in a *maṇḍapa* built during the reign of Bukka II. These pillars are octagonal on the top while, on the four corners of the *saduram*, slowly the *nāgabandham* or the snake-hood moulding is peeping out. This developed further in the Kaḍale Kallu Gaṇeśa temple at Vijayanagara where the square pillar has one *saduram* in almost the centre but there is considerable improvement.

The *nāgabandham* changed further becoming more decorative. From the lower ends of the *saduram*, a band of four small and double cusp-like edges, which were well chiselled, commenced to appear like a tassel. This new moulding, which prevailed in Vijayanagara art for a long time, was almost an innovation in this school of art. The *nāgabandham* assumed its fullest shape and between these snake-hood mouldings the space was split up on each facade and in fact this little demarcation appeared on the edges of each *saduram* or square in the pillar itself. Each facet of the whole pillar was filled with carvings of deities, dancing girls and the squatting monkey or lion, whose identity cannot be satisfactorily determined. The lion appears on the Pallava pillars in the Bhairavana Koṇḍa cave.

The capital of the pillar, now in flower, burgeoned into its full form but it was still to be decorated later on. But in this capital an adornment like a double lotus with the *pumunai* or the bud slowly dropped out.

From this pillar the pedestal (*aśvapāda*) was also formed but still it was in its primary stage. The square block, which had been made its pedestal, was severed into two halves and a projection protruded evidently being an imitation of the *kumudam* of the temple-base, though still it was plain in this case. This was completely adorned in the pillars of the Hazāra Rāma temple during the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya when the square pillar became greatly ornamented.

This black-stone pillar (the stone being imported) discloses the zenith of Vijayanagara architecture. From the pedestal to the capital the whole pillar became fully adorned. The facets of the pillars were filled with images of deities, sages and domestic scenes. The supposition that the base of the pillar was after all an imitation of the temple itself is well supported on looking at this black-stone pillar. Here the *padmam*, the *kumudam* and the *vedigayi* are all carved in the typically Vijayanagara style. The portion between the *sadurams* is decorated with the leaf-like ornamentation both up and down. Between these leaves ran that strap-like space or the *pittam* which was plain in the Kaḍale Kallu Gaṇeśa temple but it became fully decorated with vines on this pillar. The double lotus of the flowery corbel or the *boḍigai* had in this case become single and its petals assumed beautiful proportions.

Later on this ornamentation decayed. In the pillars of the Acyuta Rāya's temple at Vijayanagara, the *padmam* is seen but the *kumudam* and the *vedigayi* have disappeared. Instead, in the centre of the facade, is a flower and on either side of it is a little *kīrtimukha*. Now suddenly all the gorgeousness of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's reign dwindled and the entire structure became decidedly plainer. This simplicity was apparently due to the decadence of Acyuta Rāya's days which could not afford the splendour of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's reign. This pillar from Acyuta Rāya's temple bears out this inference. The *sadurams* are filled up in this case with the images of common occurrence, such as a crocodile seizing an elephant's leg, a commoner saluting a noble, a mother carrying a child on her hip, an ascetic or dancing girls, a horn-blower, an athlete or similar incidents from contemporary life. In this pillar of the Acyuta Rāya's temple the square pillar had above it the *kalaśam* adorned with the leaf and above it the closed lotus (*kumudam*) and over it the opening lotus or the *munai* which had no petals and this was crowned by the *palagai* or the flat slab which had at its four corners bud-like endings. This was placed below the double bracket which had a *puṣpa-boḍigai* or the flowery corbel.

This flowery corbel (*puṣpa-boḍigai*) is a purely Vijayanagara decorative motif and Dubreuil well said that "never does one see the *puṣpa-boḍigai* in the ancient temples" and that it was "essentially an ornament of the recent epoch."[50] It is preferable to state categorically that it was a typical feature of Vijayanagara architecture and never seen in any of the previous schools of architecture. As the moulding reveals, it was a clear imitation of the lotus flower so familiar to Hindu craftsmen. The whole corbel was divided into three parts: one to the right was called the *madalai*, and the other flowers which dropped the bud were named the *nānuḍal* and *pumanai*. In Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's reign the *pumunai* or the bud that dropped out of the *nānuḍal* was small and not protruding but in Acyuta Rāya's regime it began to bulge out and at Vellore, during the days of Veṅkaṭa II, in the Kalyāṇa *maṇḍapa*, it became quite pointed. It is strange that Dubreuil, failing to recognise this fact, took it to be a characteristic of Madurai art[51] which was nothing but a continuation of Vijayanagara art. In the Kalyāṇa *Maṇḍapa* at Vellore the entire flowery corbel was marked with lines and had evidently reached its final stage

of development. Therefore it appeared on the pillars of the Pudu *Maṇḍapam* of Tirumala Nāyaka[52] and in the *Maṇḍapa* of the Madurai temple itself.[53] Faint traces of it are seen in the Aghoreśvara and Rāmeśvara temples at Ikkeri but it was once more revived in later temples of Tirupapuḷiyūr.[54]

The round pillar was not much in favour in the Vijayanagara empire but it was still employed with considerable skill in some of its temples. The first plain pillars in the Jaina *Maṇḍapa* at Tiruparuttikunram built during Bukka Rāya II look as though they were in the Coḷa tradition. But, by the time of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, it was discontinued as a main pillar but only served as the *kuṁbhapañjaram* or the decorative pilaster. The round pillar was rarely used in Vijayanagara art because it was employed either with a square base or the square pillar itself. As a decorative pilaster (*kuṁbhapañjaram*), the round pillar came to exist in the Hazāra Rāma temple at Vijayanagara.[55] As noted earlier, the pedestal of this pilaster was square and above it rose the *kuṁbham* (the pitcher or water pot) of the pillar itself and it was likewise carved all round with a blank strip running above it. The rest of the *kuṁbhapañjaram* was like any other pillar. However, a somewhat round pillar can be seen in the Kalyāṇa *Maṇḍapa* at Vellore. The resemblance between this pillar and those at Mahābalipuram is too obvious to pass unnoticed.[56] The base in the Vellore pillar is square and on it rested the crouching lion. The lion here is somewhat different from the one at Mahābalipuram but nevertheless the similarity is unmistakable. One pillar on the couchant lion is striped including the *kuṁbha* much after the Pallava style. The only additions to this Vellore pillar were the double flowery corbels and the square pedestal. This round pillar is also found as the decorative pilaster on the Rāja Gopuram at Madurai.[57] Finally, in the temples of Ikkeri the round pillar once more resumed its octagonal shape.[58] A further development of the square pillar was the double pillar first noticed in the colonnades of the Jaṁbukeśvara temple at Śrīraṅgam. Here is a mixture of the Pāṇḍyan and Coḷa elements, namely, the square and round pillars in one and both of them were united.[59] But when they came into Vijayanagara architecture, the two were separated as in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñci or in the *rathas* at Mahābalipuram. In the Kalyāṇa *Maṇḍapam* of the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple to this extra pillar were attached equestrian riders, either Hindu or Muslim on horses which are not often well executed. These motifs were evidently anticipated in the Asaṁpūrṇa or Aṣṭadikpāla *Maṇḍapa* at Lepākṣi where the eight *dikpālas* stand carved between the pedestal (*aśvapāda*) and the flowering corbel (*puṣpa-boḍigai*). The pillar caryatides, whether rearing horses or crouchant lions or *gaja-siṁhas*, according to some art critics, are the products of a wild phantasy and unrealistic. At the end of the 15th century rearing horses were also provided with riders and groups of soldiers below but they were particularly a feature of the Madurai style.[60] This architectural motif has an ancient past which will be dealt with later. These riders are common in Vijayanagara shrines built during the reigns of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya and Acyuta Rāya and were continued as symbolic motifs by the Nāyakas of Madurai on the lines they saw

at Vellore, Chandragiri and other provincial capitals after the fatal battle of 1565. During Acyuta Rāya's rule a further innovation was made in this direction by adopting the motifs first introduced in the Asaṁpūrṇa *Maṇḍapa* at Lepākṣi by installing on the second extra pillar, as though to buttress the structure, full-sized images of a standing drummer, a dancing girl or such figures. In the Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ temple the horses and their riders seen also in the Kalyāṇa *Maṇḍapa* of the Viṭṭhaḷasvāmi temple at Vijayanagara, were carved with great spirit and animation. Below the horse that is prancing, rising on its haunches, is a dragon from whose mouth issues a rod like a bow into the horse's mouth. These figures are fine examples of Vijayanagara art. A further example and a little more detailed is found in the Kalyāṇa *Maṇḍapa* of the Vellore temple which, from an architectural angle, appears later than 1485 though ascribed to that year by Fergusson and Burgess while Dubreuil's estimate that it may be assigned to the period between 1560 and 1600[61] seems more reasonable. This Kalyāṇa *Maṇḍapa* has attached to one pillar, three small dwarfs supporting on their arms a double pair of riders and horses, the uppermost being the largest.[62] The pavilion contains the interior pillars attached to the extra pillar which itself is joined to the main square pillar by a screen with a large uprisen horse and rider, though at times the two are separated. This is seen in the Ekāṁbarnāth temple, where the round pillar was slowly beginning to extricate itself but it was still attached to the main pillar by a series of knobs. In this example, especially to the left, the new pillar had a lion as the pedestal and the top-most bracket also had a lion. In fact in the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple the extra pillar, though not round or octagonal, was square and not detached from the main pillar. But in the Kṛṣṇa temple the pillar was quite separate. Again in the corridor of the Viṭṭhalaswāmi temple and in the shrine itself the pillar was distinctly separated. This discloses how the pillar as a specific architectural element had come to be formed.

The temple of Acyuta Rāya reveals definite and clear examples of the double pillar. The extra pillar was octagonal and the base, a couchant lion, was attached to the main temple. Sometimes, as in the Kalyāṇa *Maṇḍapa* of Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple, one pillar had two extra pillars supported by two couchant lions. Such a lion, it may be recollected, was a descendant of Pallava times. This extra pillar, unlike that in the Jaṁbukeśvara temple at Śrīraṅgam, was a complete entity in the Acyuta Rāya's temple at Vijayanagara, with all the technical details. Yet one more pillar to the already existing extra pillar, was to be added in Acyuta Rāya's days. This practice was not an innovation for in Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's reign this system was in vogue. When entering the Viṭṭhalaswāmi temple, all the pillars of the temple on all the four sides were adorned with these extra pillars, as can be seen even today, making them all one pillar! These little pillars had lions for their pedestals, an imitation of the Pallava motif, and below them either human figures or *makaras* or conventional crocodiles.[63] At Śrīraṅgam the additional pillar disappeared and instead of it, the whole pillar appeared as though it were cut out in the middle on

one side to the left and within it were placed similar statues of horses and riders.[64]

At Madurai the double pillar continued to prevail but it was joined and at the end was projected a small pedestal on which were placed life-size statues. This is reminiscent of a similar practice adopted during Acyuta Rāya and earlier in the Asaṁpūrṇa *Maṇḍapa* at Lepākṣi. At Madurai in the Pudu *Maṇḍapam* can be seen full size images of the ten Nāyakas of Madurai among whom Tirumala is the most well-known. This was not a new custom for on the main pillar of the Kalyāṇa *Maṇḍapa* in Vaikuṇṭha Perumāḷ temple built by Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya are seen the images of that emperor with his two wives.[65] Similarly, the descendants of his feudatories the ten Nāyakas of Madurai stand with hands folded (*añjalī-mudrā*) along with their wives and even some attendants.[66]

Composite Pillars

Composite pillars were of different types. One such type was the *aniyoṭṭikkal* which comprised a main shaft of the common cubical variety with an attached shaft having slim small columns, which were entirely linked with the main shaft or detached, the attachment being through slender stone tapestery or by simple solid stone work. Another class of such pillars was the *yāli* type which could be either simple or plain or with intricate stone masonry. The main pillar had several attached pillars whose number varied from one to fifteen. The finest specimens of such composite pillars can be seen in the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple at Vijayanagara.

The Lamp Pillars (*Dīpamāle*)

Another type of pillar, which was invariably installed in South Indian temples, facing the entrance, was the Lamp Pillar (*dīpa staṁbha* or the *dīpamāle*) which, incidentally, is mentioned in the *Mānasāra* as an article of furniture.[67] Such a type of pillar has been extant in South Indian architecture from very early times. At Mahābalipuram, almost in the sea confronting the gate of the shrine itself, stands this Coḷa-type of pillar completely round to serve for a lamp post. In the Kailāsa temple at Ellora are found two fine examples of these lamp posts and it is quite probable that by that time the *dīpa staṁbha* had become quite an indispensible element of South Indian architecture. These pillars, square in shape, were placed not in front but in the sides of temple. Before the Kadamba shrines, these columns are missing but the Hoysaḷas revived them again and in front of the Keśava temple at Belūr an octagonal pillar serves for a lamp post.[68]

The Vijayanagara emperors continued this practice. It is remarkable how the Vijayanagara *dīpa staṁbha* resembles so much its Hoysaḷa prototype. In its simplicity, height and elegance, it is similar to the Jaina *mānastaṁbha* found in Tuḷuva (South Kanara District, Karnāṭaka) and it will be dealt with later when

dealing with Jaina architecture. This lamp pillar, seen in many Vijayanagara shrines, stands on a small pedestal, a square block of granite scooped in the middle, with almost no ornamentation. Over this in the centre rose a square pillar about one-fourth of the entire structure and went up octagonally shaped and on its top was placed the *kaṅdam*, which was crowned by the *munai* or the opening lotus, and over it was the *palagai*. This pillar so similar to its Hoysaḷa prototype was entirely free from ornamentation and, instead of the *nāgabaṅdham* and the *padmabaṅdham*, it was graced with a rugged simplicity and a charming elegance. This lamp pillar became ornate as for instance in front of the Ketāpi Nārāyaṇa temple at Bhaṭkal where it assumed a fine appearance. This lamp pillar had a pedestal which, as in the previous case, comprised of three parts. The *upānam*, as in Vijayanagara temples, was carved with figures of men and women. The *kumudam* too was characteristcally striped above and below, and above it was placed a flat slab resembling the *palagai* itself. The lower portion on this pillar, being square as in the previous case, was filled on each face with images and on one side stand a king and queen, probably representing Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya and his queen but, as he is usually represented with two of his queens, this appears rather doubtful. The round pillar issuing forth has three bands called the *padmabaṅdham*, and are filled with floral designs. A peculiarity with this lamp pillar is that below the *kaṅdam* it has the *kalaśam* which is not found in earlier examples of this type. In addition on the *palagai* is placed a small pavilion in the Jaina *mānastaṁbhas*.

The Roof

On the double brackets was placed the roof in Vijayanagara shrines, as in most South Indian temples. The top of the temple was covered with large slabs which served both for permanance and utility. These slabs, which proved useful as ceilings, could also be decorated with fine carvings. These slabs were flanked on all sides by a sloping roof (*koḍungai*) which was a peculiarity of the Vijayanagara school of architecture. In the preceding currents of South Indian architecture the roof being rather closed, it had not the lip-like projection which became a speciality in the Vijayanagara period. An attempt may be made to trace the origin of this elongation. In the Coḷa roof of the great temple at Thanjāvūr it was slowly commencing to elongate with ornamentation on either side and besides them the *kīrtimukha* was crowning the *kūḍu*.[69] The Pāṇḍyan roof was similarly adorned.[70] The Pallavas had only the *kūḍu* with a face inset carved on their roof which had not begun yet to droop. The corner ornamentation continued in Cāḷukyan architecture.[71] Probably prior to the Hoysaḷas the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the only royal family who embellished the centre and the roof of their shrines with great beauty but their roof almost retained its old shape. The Vijayanagara craftsmen appear to have vied with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa sculptors in ornamenting their roof and even excelled them. The Kadambas, fond of simplicity, kept their roofs almost plain.[72] The

Hoysaḷas slightly elongated their roof and their carving of the *kūḍu* over it is an unforgettable imitation of the Pallava practice.[73]

In Vijayanagara times the roof of the South Indian temple became most ornate and elegant. The lip-like projection of the roof was now complete. Above this there was a quaint decoration composed as it were of two interrogation marks joined together. This can be seen still in many Hoysaḷa temples. At either end of the roof rose three feather-like projections, one larger than the other and the last was the longest and below them was a suspended stone ring for hanging lamps. In the centre of the roof ran a belt of ornamention adorned with swans and other figures, and in the middle was carved the star-shaped design seen from the days of the Pāṇḍyas. This is another example showing how the Vijayanagara craftsmen combined beautifully in their temples many of the elements of the preceding schools. Later at Madurai during Tirumala Nāyaka in their shrines, the roofs were slowly losing their projections.

Ornamentation over the Roof

Over this roof in the Vijayanagara shrines ran another small panel of ornamentation either of animals or deities or *kūḍus* or the hoary *caitya*-window of the Buddhists. These *kūḍus* evidently enshrined certain images which have now unfortunately fallen away as in the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple, denoting its completion denied by several writers[74] before the fatal invasion of 1565.[75] These *kūḍus* or small pavilions were placed all round the *maṇḍapas* of the shrines while the *garbhagṛha* was crowned by the *vimāna*. In this again the Vijayanagara craftsmen were not original but original but only followed their predecessors. In the Great temple at Thānjāvūr the Coḷas had these pavilions over their roofs.[76] In the Bhīma *Ratha* at Mahabalipuram the roof itself was adorned on its sides with these *kūḍus* protruding from it and enshrining the familiar face.[77] The Jambukeśvara Temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai also had this feature.[78] The Cāḷukyas, however, contrived to place a series of those *vimānas* as in the Bhīma *Ratha* and carved the *kūḍu* on them in the centre.[79] The Kadambas continued this practice.[80] The Hoysaḷas, however, revived the old custom and they built these pavilions in a series on the roof itself,[81] for instance in the Keśava temple at Belūr. This was directly imitated by the Vijayanagara craftsmen for three centuries. At Ikkeri the *kūḍu* is visible on the walls of the Rāmeśvara temple but the roof, excepting the flank-like slabs of granite, is quite plain.

The Pradakṣiṇa and Garbhagṛha

The question of the *pradakṣiṇa* and *garbhagṛha* now remains. The former element, as stated earlier, was evidently Buddhist and was adopted by the Pallavas over the *vimāna* as can be seen in the Dharma Rāja *Ratha*.[82] This was continued by

Cāḷukyas this cannot be better illustrated than in the Durgā temple at Aihoḷe where, of course, it is attached to the *garbhagṛha* itself.[83] Vijayanagara has some examples of the *pradakṣiṇa* being around the *garbhagṛha* as in the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple and in the so-called underground or Prasanna Virūpākṣa temple. The *pradakṣiṇa* in both these shrines is alike but that of the former is not only lower than the *garbhagṛha* itself but utterly dark quite unlike the enclosure of the Durgā temple at Aihoḷe. The *pradakṣiṇa* was at times, as in the case of the Acyuta Rāya's temple, built in the second *prākāra* of the temple.

The Walls of the Temple

The Vijayanagara craftsmen did not neglect the walls of their temples. The Coḷas adorned their temple-walls either with the niches enclosing images or the decorative pilasters.[84] The Jaṁbukeśvara temple of the Pāṇḍyas at Śrīraṅgam reveals a similar decoration.[85] The Cāḷukyan shrines had the *goṣṭapañjaram* with different types of images and the simulated windows [86] But when the Kadambas commenced to construct their temples, they left their temple walls fully bare although at times they carved a belt-like elevation all round on their walls.[87] The Hoysaḷas on the other hand packed their walls with the closest possible ornamentation all over from the top to the bottom, reviving the Cāḷukyan perforated screen.[88] It is remarkable how the Vijayanagara craftsmen combined all these elements in decorating their shrines. The decorative pilasters and the niches, for example, can be found on the walls of the Hazāra Rāma temple at Vijayanagara.[89] The *kuṁbhapañjaram*, it must be noted, assumed its most beautiful form in Vijayanagara art. After its vicissitudes in the preceding styles of South Indian architecture, the niches had no images although the niche, with the double pillars, was employed after the Pāṇḍyan style,[90] to adorn the *adhiṣṭhāna* as in the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple.[91] The simulated windows, although they cannot be seen in the capital itself, are found in the Jaina *basti* at Mūḍubidri in Tuḷuva. In the so-called Jaina *basti* in the capital the walls have the trap-like entablature exactly as in the Kamala Nārāyaṇa temple at Degāṁve.[92] Somewhat like the Hoysaḷas, though perhaps not so gorgeously, the Vijayanagara craftsmen too could cover up their walls with sculptures, for instance, in the Hazāra Rāma temple whose walls are filled up with sculptures of elephants, horses, foot-soldiers and dancing girls in a variety of postures.

The Gateways of the Temple

Lastly, the gateways of the temple in Vijayanagara art may be considered. The entrance to the *garbhagṛha* was generally flanked with the images of elephants or with two *makaras* or conventional crocodiles, fine specimens of which can be seen when entering the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple. The door in the Vijayanagara shrines continued to be rectangular in shape as in the Barbara cave in Bihar. The Vijaya-

nagara door was usually plain but sometimes as in a Jaina *basti* at Mūḍubidri in Tuḷuva (South Kanara District, Karnāṭaka) the pendant nails of the Kadambas and the dedication stone appeared along with the *dvārapālas* too which had come down to Hoysaḷa days. These must have existed in Vijayanagara itself. When entering the *garbhagṛha* of the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple, next to the door, evidently stood the two guardians of the door and one of them, mercilessly beheaded by some Muslim vandal, was found in the *navaraṅga* opposite the south door. It was the huge figure of a man, armed with a mace, with one leg bent and resting on a stool.

Similar *dvārapālas*, though not of a parallel size, are also found in other temples of this age, for instance, in the compound of the Hazāra Rāma temple. The *maṇḍapas* had often huge elephant balustrades flanking their entrance steps. The gateway of the *prākāra* of the temple had over it the *gopuram*, and the entrance door was in Vijayanagara, in many cases, carved on its jambs and lintel with seated or standing figures of deities and there is a fine specimen of it in the northern gateway of the inner courtyard of Acyuta Rāya's temple.[93] The door itself was in Vijayanagara shrines carried upwards in the *gopura* almost to the top. This usage was not cultivated by the Coḷas. In the *gopura* or rather the *vimāna* of the Rājarājeśvara temple at Thanjāvūr, this door of the entrance is not carried upwards beyond three rungs. But on the other hand in the Pāṇḍyan Jaṁbukeśvara temple at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, the door was carried right to the top on either side of this *gopuram* ascending it as a projection and making its presence visible. This is exactly the state with some of the Vijayanagara *gopurams*, as in the case of the Mālyavaṅta Raghunātha temple.[94]

The Gopura in Vijayanagara Architecture

The gateway of the *prākāra* of the temple had usually over it, the *gopura* which, in Coḷa shrines was small, while in Vijayanagara temples it was quite large. These *gopurams* were not completely of stone as in the case of Coḷa temples but were built of brick-work carved or inlaid with stucco. The brick-work was adopted probably as it was lighter than the heavy granite of the locality. Still the brick-work was well done as some of the ruins show even today. Sometimes as a skeleton for the images of the brick-work, small pieces of wood were inlaid in the stucco and such pieces could be found for instance in the Kalyāṇa *maṇḍapa* of the Viṭṭhalaswāmi temple. The whole base of these *gopurams* in Vijayanagara architecture was made of stone: it had two parts, the lower was adorned with single small pillars and no other decoration. In it was kept a small flat slab on each side of the door and on this slab was generally carved a series of the *kīrtimukhas*. Over this the entire *adhiṣṭhānam* of the Vijayanagara temple was reproduced with the *goṣṭapañjaram* or pavilion on each side and this pavilion was flanked on either side by the pilasters. The niches in these *gopurams* were empty. Over this structure again

a flat slab of granite was placed from one end of the door to the other and on this was raised the whole *gopuram* of brick and pilaster or stucco. This basic slab in front was carved as in the former case with a number of *kīrtimukhas* or the "face of fame" motifs. This custom was an ancient tradition much affected by the Pallavas.

Over this *gopuram* in Vijayanagara art, the *stūpi* was not round like that of the Coḷas nor small like that of the Pāṇḍyas, but larger and much resembles for example the upper roof of the Bhīma *Ratha* at Mahābalipuram,[95] with two horn-like projections on either side. Such are the *gopurams* of the Mālyavanta Raghunātha temple or the Paṭṭābhi Rāma temple. These *gopurams* were sometimes over the *ardhamaṇḍapa* as in the Kṛṣṇa temple at Vijayanagara.[96] Sometimes the *stūpi* in Vijayanagara architecture was made round and this too was after the Pallava style as can be seen in the Dharma Rāja *Ratha*.[97] Specimens of this type of *stūpi* are found in the *vimānas* of the Kṛṣṇa or the Paṭṭābhi Rāma temples.[98] Between the two horn-like ornaments of the cupola in Vijayanagara is visible only a single *kalaśa* (vase). Later on, however, in the *gopurams* of the Ekāṁbaranātha temple at Kāñci or the Great temple at Madurai there were as many as ten *kalaśas* in a row.[99] The beginning of this system are noticed first in the Suṅdara Pāṇḍya *gopura* of the Jaṁbukeśvara atemple.[100] The Coḷa and Pallava *vimānas* were filled with carvings of the *kūḍu* on all sides. The Pāṇḍyas filled with imagery the entire structure depicting incidents from the epics and the *Purāṇas*. The Cāḷukyas did not in any way greatly enhance the beauty of the *vimānas*. The Vijayanagara craftsmen, on the other hand, thronged their *gopurams* with decorations of the pilasters and the *goṣṭapañjaram* or the pavilion and at times with fine stucco work figures also, remnants of which survive in the Viṭṭhalasvāmi or Kṛṣṇa temples at Vijayanagara.

The contours of these *gopurams* in the Vijayanagara empire varied from place to place. At Kāñci and at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai the *gopurams* have straight outlines.[101] In the Virūpākṣa and Paṁpāpati temples at Vijayanagara the profiles of the *vimāna* are convex. At Madurai during the Nāyaka regime the *gopurams* such as those of the Great temple, became concave.[102]

Jaina Architecture

In view of the toleration of the Vijayanagara emperors to the Jaina religion, it survived and it still does in Tuḷuva to this day and its *basadis* or *bastis* flourished from time to time. Some of the technical terms of Jaina architecture have been noted in certain inscriptions. An epigraph from Amarapuram, Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh, of the times of a chief Iruṅgoṇa Deva dated A.D. 1278 refers to techincal terms like the *mahāmaṇḍapa*, *Lakṣmī maṇḍapa*, *gopura*, *parisūtra*, *vaṅdana-mālā*, *mānastaṁbha*, *makara toraṇa*.[103] Another inscription of A.D. 1325 in the Mangāyi *Basti* at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, Karnāṭaka, points to the *garbhagṛha*, *sukhanāsi*, and *navaraṅga*. Such terminology was no doubt adopted from Hindu texts.

Jainism was popular in the capital at least in one or two localities, and in the provincial capitals like those of the Caṅgāḷvas, Sāḷuvas of Saṅgītapura (Hāḍuvahaḷḷi), Gersoppe, Kārkaḷa, Avaḷināḍ, Kuppaṭūr, Morasunāḍ, Bidnūr, Bāgunjisīme, Nuggehaḷḷi, Mūḍubidri and other places.

One of the earliest Jaina monuments in the Vijayanagara period is a shrine found on the Kampili road at Kamalāpuram built by Irugappa, the minister of Bukka II, in A.D. 1385.[104] This Jaina temple, facing the north, has a *garbhagṛha*, *antarāla*, *ardhamaṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa*. It has an attached small temple facing the east. Most of the Jaina *basadis* face the north, few in any other direction and this has been traced to a saintly practice adopted by Jaina saints sitting with their faces to the north called in the Tamil Nāḍu, *vaḍakkiruttal* and this usage was even adopted by the royalty for obtaining liberation (*mokṣa*). All Jaina shrines cannot be said to have been built in this manner. On the Hemakūṭa Hill where still some *trikūṭācala* or the triple-celled *bastis* survive, the three shrines face the east, west and north, with a common *ardha-maṇḍapa*, a front porch, walls with large rectangular slabs, neatly dressed. Such *trikūṭa* shrines are found in other places like Vardhamānapura (modern Vaḍḍamaṇi), a Jaina centre at Prayaṭūr, north of Alampur.[105] Resembling these shrines on the Hemakūṭa Hill is a *basadi* near the so-called Elephant Stables in Vijayanagara, without any existing superstructure, but having an *ardhamaṇḍapa*, *mahāmaṇḍapa*, plain heavy pillars pointing to an early period of construction. The Maṅgāyi *Basti*, probably dating from A.D. 1325 in view of an inscription stating that it was built by Maṅgāyi of Beḷguḷa, shows only the *garbhagṛha*, *sukhanāsi*, *navaraṅga*, and a plain standing image of Pārśvanātha.

It may, therefore, be noted how in the early Jaina shrines at Vijayanagara and elsewhere the elements present were the *garbhagṛha*, *antarāla*, *ardhamaṇḍapa*, *sukhanāsi*, *navaraṅga* and the unfailing *dīpamāle* or *mānastambha*. These features disclose that the Jainas after all only followed Hindu traditions in their architecture. They had certain types of structures: groups of *basadis* and tombs, with peculiar roofs, interiors and pillars.

The Roof in Jaina Basadis

In Jaina architecture one of its characteristics was the peculiar type of roof of which there were some varieties. At Hāḍuvahaḷḷi (Saṅgītapura, 18 km. east-north-east of Bhaṭkaḷ, in North Kanara, Karnāṭaka) the plain *basti* of Candranātha Svāmin, has a flat roof which is of little archaeological interest. The groups of Jaina *bastis* in Vijayanagara have stepped pyramidal roofs, with a type of *śikhara* also seen in the Brāhmaṇical shrines in the locality.[106] These horizontal lines, reminiscent of the Kadamba style shrines, were all intersected with vertical lines on all the four sides. This shows traces of northern influence of the *śikhara*. Another type of roof can be seen in the large stone *bastis* at Bhaṭkaḷ and Mūḍubidri. The *bastis* here have plain sloping roofs. A similarity between such types of roofs and

their wooden prototypes in Nepal, owing to certain climatic conditions like heavy rainfall, might have caused identical types of structures. It has also been suggested that this method of roof construction is no more than a copy in stone of such thatched roofs necessitated by the exigencies of climate and the ease with which large laterite slabs could be quarried from nearby localities.[107] Another type of roof is on the Hemakūṭa Hill where the Jaina *bastis* have pyramidal superstructures of stone, which as has been suggested were "undoubtedly Śaiva temples."[108] Like the above suggestion, this too requires tangible and indisputable evidence before acceptance. A slightly different variety of roof can be noticed at Kārkaḷa and some other Jaina centres of worship is the reversed slope of the eaves above the verandah, also considered to have been imitated from the thatched roofs of the local people. The stepped pyramid could have six *tāḷas* or plain horizontal slabs, dimishing as they rise and the *grīva* remaining square and the *śikhara* domical.

The Interiors within the Bastis

We have already seen how in the Gāṇigitti temple (A D. 1385) also known as the Kuṇṭhu Jinanātha *Caityālaya*, a stone structure, has a *garbhagṛha*, *aṅtarāḷa ardhamaṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa* with an attached subshrine facing the east. Within the sanctum (*garbhagṛha*) there must have been an image of some *tīrthaṅkara* or of the one in whose name it was built, although in *trikūṭācala bastis*, most of them do not have any icons, and this is claimed to be characteristic of such shrines facing the east.[109] This is doubtful for the icons might well have been removeed by thieves who specialise in spiriting away images. In front of the sanctum sometimes as in the Hosabasadi (*basti*) and the thousand-pillared *basti* at Mūḍubidri, there are three halls in front of the sanctum, namely, the Tīrthaṅkara, Gaddiga and Citra *maṇḍapas*, built in A.D. 1451-52 during the reign of Mallikārjuna Immaḍi Deva Rāya (A.D. 1446-67) by Gopaṇa Oḍeya.[110] Above the *garbhagṛha* were built the pyramidal stepped roofs, with double storeys as in the large stone *basti* at Mūḍubidri or at Bhaṭkaḷ in the Jaṭṭappa Nāyakana Caṅdranātheśvara *basti* in the western block, facing the east. Such *tāḷās* rise up to six as in the Gāṇigitti temple in Vijayanagara.

The door-way of these *bastis* had some peculiarities. At Gersoppa in the Caturmukha *basti*, there are four porches, each facing each of the cardinal points within the central shrine. It has four doors (*caumukha*) a square facing each door.[111] Sometimes as in the Gāṇigitti temple over the front door-way was carved on the stone lintel a small seated figure of a Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* with three such figures superimposed above his head, and servants holding fly-whisks on either side of him Such figures were also seen over the front porch above the flat roof with an ornamental brick and pilaster parapet with three large niches containing the crumbling pilaster remnants of three seated images of probably the same *tīrthaṅkara* noted earlier, placed on the door-lintel.[112]

Jaina Pillars

The pillars in Jaina *bastis* were either simple, ornamented or numerous. The Bhairavadevī *Maṇḍapa* (A.D. 1451-52) has pillars, which appear like logs of wood with their angles partly chamfered off so as to make them appear octagonal.[113] At Mūḍubidri, where several monuments exist, among which are the Hosabaṣadi also known as the Tribhuvana Cūḍāmaṇi *Basadi* and the thousand-pillared *basadi* (*basti*). It was so named on account of its numerous pillars and reminds one of the Thousand-Pillared *Maṇḍapa* at Wārangal. It was built in A.D. 1429 during the reign of Deva Rāya II. The blinds between the pillars were skilfully carved and the pillars themselves display such a variety in their sculpture that they elicited the highest praise from Fergusson who noted that "Nothing can exceed the variety with which they are carved. No two pillars seem alike and many are ornamented to such an extent that they may seem almost fantastic."[114]

The pillars were of ever so many varieties. This can be seen especially in the Bhairavadevī *Maṇḍapa* at Mūḍubidri. This ornate structure of these pillars defies analysis and almost baffles description. But often plainer and earlier types of pillars adorn either the thousand-pillared *basti* or the Tribhuvana Tilaka Jinālaya. The square pillars with intervening space in the middle, with a plain octagonal face and a bracket running round now and then are common. Each of these has a base called the *aśvapādam*. This base is a plain slab, flat and rectangular but it has what are obviously the three petals of the lotus on each side. Above the square pillar with the breaks revealing what was mentioned above, is one square in the pillar called the *saduram* mentioned earlier. So the pillar comprises three squares, the intervening one being the smallest. Above the third square on the top rose the lotus flower called *ṃunai*. This in Jaina architecture is rather crude being somewhat square and adorned with three ribs. This was crowned by the double-bracket much like the Coḷa corbel.

But there were so many different types of pillars, especially the round ones which were essentially Coḷa. Such are found in the Bhairavadevī *Maṇḍapa* at Mūḍubidri. They are not exactly round because they have a square base and above it the pillars become round and are adorned with friezes diversely embellished either with stars, flowers and garlands or with various figures of men, animals and birds. Sometimes this round pillar was covered with carved pillars so beautifully ornamented that they remind us of Hoysaḷa sculpture in the Cennakeśava temple at Belūr. Sometimes here the *kalaśa* (vase or water-pot) of the pillar bears wonderful tassels hanging round it. All these pillars have for the capital a flat slab profusely adorned with the *pumunai* or an unblossomed lotus bud. This is purely a characteristic of the Vijayanagara period. Here probably is Jaina sculpture in Tuḷuva at its best.

Other Types of Pillars: the Dīpamāle and the Mānastaṁbha

The *dīpamāle* or the lamp pillar of the Jainas has elicited the unstinted admiration of western art critics. It was of two types: the *dīpamāle* and the Brahmadeva pillars. They were posted in front of their colossal Jaina statues as at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa or at the entrance to *bastis* on the Cikkabeṭṭa in the same village.[115] These are also found at Kārkaḷa and Veṇūr with an image of Brahmadeva on their tops. The one in Kārkaḷa was set up by Vīra Pāṇḍya Rāya in *śaka* 1358 in front of the Gomaṭeśvara.[116] The figure of Brahmadeva was enclosed in a small pavilion at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa and beautifully decorated.[117]

The *mānastaṁbhas* were quite different and had pavilions on the top enshrining figures of the Jina facing the four directions. The *mānastaṁbha* literally means a column of honour and they were probably set up in honour of their *tīrthaṅkaras*. These pillars are best seen at Mūḍubidri which alone claims sixteen *bastis* of the Jainas.[118] It is probable that they borrowed the form of such pillars from the Buddhists.[119] Fergusson had observed that types of such pillars could be seen in other places outside India, namely, in Armenia up the valley of the Danube and even in Central Europe.[120] It would be absurd to suggest that the Jainas borrowed the concept of such pillars from those places without any reliable evidence.

These pillars were finely ornamented, neat and elegant. Square up to a fourth of their height, they are round above it, adorned with belts of decorated friezes and crowned with a small pavilion which had a *kalaśa* over it. That was a purely Brāhmaṇical motif.

The Entrance to Bastis

The entrance to a Jaina *basti* was usually flanked by a pair of door-keepers already noticed in connection with Hindu shrines. Among the Jainas they were called Brahma and Padmāvatī. Such figures can be seen in the Tribhuvana Tilaka Jinālaya at Mūḍubidri. This feature in Vijayanagara times was an adoption of a Cāḷukyan motif[121] and it is not strange that the Jaina feudatories of the Vijayanagara emperors in Tuḷuva and elsewhere followed their masters in this respect.

The Ground Plan of the Bastis

The plan of the Jaina *bastis* was more or less identical. In them the *garbhagṛha* was square with a large *navaraṅga* and a small *sukhanāsi*, flanked on all sides by a spacious porch. Occasionally each of these four faces of the *basti* was consecrated at the same time with the images of the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras* together with those of Brahma and Padmāvatī. These two deities in Jaina mythology are two demi-gods (*Yakṣa* and *Yakṣiṇī*) who attend invariably on the *tīrthaṅkaras*. Such a *basti* is the Caturmukha *basti* at Kārkaḷa which has four

symmetrical faces. At the entrance of each enclosure of this shrine was said to have been set up images of the Jinas with Brahma and Padmāvatī to the left and right and consecrated according to precept. Like the Brāhmaṇical temples, the Jaina *bastis* have no *ubapīṭam* but commence from the ground at once and hence the Tribhuvana Tilaka Jainālaya at Mūḍubidri looks so low. Just below the *upānam* there is a flat slab serving as a base which in the shrine, is fully adorned with various floral designs. The *upānam* above it is plain. The *padmam* (lotus) seen in Brāhmaṇical temples appears here also at each corner of the *basti* and it is also visible in the corners of the *garbhagṛha*, the *sukhanāsi* and the *navaraṅga* with three tooth-like edges protruding out. This feature is not seen in Brāhmaṇical shrines. Again in Jaina *bastis* expecially of Tuḷuva the *kumudam* is missing but there is the *kaṅdam* adorned with an uninterrupted series of standing *tīrthaṅkaras*. Above this at once commences the *akrapaṭṭiyāl* which was the floor for the worshippers to walk upon. This too was adorned with a series of inverted *padmam* (lotuses) which were carved further below. This motif too was borrowed by the Jainas from the Hindu craftsmen. From here at once began the pillars already dealt with. The two elephants guarding the entrance once again remind us how Brāhmaṇic temple builders influenced the Jainas in this respect also.

The Walls of the Bastis

The walls of the Jaina *bastis* are invariably plain although in some cases sculptures including figures of the camel and giraffe also can be seen. But certain *bastis* have peculiar windows. In the Jaṭṭappa Nāyakana Caṅdranātheśvara *basti*, the ground floor has perforated screen walls.[121] Again in the large stone *basti* at Bhaṭkaḷ, the stone screen appears in the sides. As noted already this was a Cāḷukyan feature, adopted by the Vijayanagara craftsmen.

Jaina Tombs

Another type of Jaina structure is the Jaina tomb of their saints or saintly persons. They can be seen in the neighbourhood of Mūḍubidri. They have a pagoda-type of pyramidal storeys, tapering from one to five and even more, each with a projecting cornice, the entire structure being crowned by a finial. Each of these *tāḷas* has a sloping roof like the pagodas at Kathmandu and in Tibet, probably caused by the identically heavy monsoon conditions. Such tombs exist nowhere else in India.[122]

REFERENCES

1 Dubreuil, *Archaeologie D' Sud L'Inde*, tome I, p. 146; also see Ananthalwar and Rea, *Indian Architecture*, III, ii, p. 240.

2 Smith, *History of Fine Art*, p. 228. He also dubbed it "local" without being aware of its significance or its scope. Fergusson, in a similar strain, crudely called the facade of the *Pudu Maṇḍapam* at Madurai "most barbarous...most vulgar to be found in India." (*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1899, I, ed. 1910, p. 389.) Such sweeping criticism is senseless and deserves to be treated with the contempt it deserves, as it was the result of gross ignorance and a false sense of aesthetic values.

3 *A.S.S.I.E.R.*, no. 17.

4 *E.I.*, VII, no. 7, p. 116.

5 Cf. Sivaramamurti, *Royal Conquests*, pl. XXX (84).

6 Brown, Percy, *Indian Architecture*, I, p. 106.

7 Paes, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire (FE)*, pp. 240-41.

8 Cf. Narasimhacharya, *Architecture and Sculpture in Mysore*, I, pl. I.

9 *E.C.*, V, Cn 256.

10 *S.C.R.*, 1916, p. 28.

11 Ibid , p. 25, pl. V.

12 Cf. Illustration for the plan.

13 Cf. *S.C.R.*, 1912, pp. 53-54.

14 Fergusson and Burgess, op. cit., I, p. 391, fig. 229.

15 Cf. Sivaramamurti, op. cit., p. 19.

16 Acharya, *Mānasāra*, p. 44.

17 Dubreuil, op. cit., pl. LVII.

18 Ibid., pl. XXV, fig. 44.

19 Ibid., pl. XXXVIII.

20 *J.B.H.S.*, II, lower pl., opp. p. 102.

21 Ibid., pl. opp. p. 130.

22 Narasimhacharya, op. cit., II, pl. III, pt. I, pl. III.

23 Acharya, op. cit., p. 81.

24 Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, fig. 26.

25 Ibid., fig. 57.

26 *M.A.R.*, 1928, pls. X, XI.

27 *J.B.H.S.*, II, lower pl., opp. p. 130.

28 Narasimhacharya, op. cit., I, pl. VIII.

29 Longhurst, op. cit., fig. 42.

30 *Ṛgveda*, (550), p. 107 (Griffith's ed.).

31 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 4.1.8.

32 *Yajurveda*, IV, i, 3, 8.

33 Acharya, op. cit., p. 148.

34 Dubreuil, op. cit., pl. XXXVIII.

35 Acharya, op. cit., p. 127.

36 Ibid.

37 Dubreuil, op. cit., fig. 44, pl. XXIV.

38 Ibid., pl. XXIV.

39 *J.B.H.S.*, II, lower pl., opp. p. 122.

40 Narasimhacharya, op. cit., I, pl. I.

41 Ibid., pl. V.

42 Dubreuil, op. cit., pl. XXXVIII.

43 Ibid., pl. XXVI A.

44 Ibid., XXXV A and B.

45 *J.B.H.S.*, II, pl. opp. p. 102.

46 Narasimhacharya, op. cit., I, pl. IX.

47 *E.C.*, V, Cn 256.

48 Longuhrst, *Hampi Ruins*, fig. 40(5), (6).

49 Dubreuil, op. cit., pls. XIX, XXIII.

50 Ibid., *Dravidian Architecture*, p. 40.

51 Ibid., fig. 58, p. 147.

52 Ibid., pl. LIV.

53 Ibid., pl. XLVII.

54 Ibid., pl. LIV.

55 Longhurst, op. cit., fig. 28.

56 Dubreuil, *Dravidian Architecture*, fig. 18.

57 Ibid., *Archaeologie D' Sud L'Inde*, I, pl. XLIII.

58 *M.A.R.*, 1928, pl. X (lower).

59 Hurlimann, *Picturesque India*, p. 23.

60 Coomaraswamy, *A History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 124.

61 Fergusson and Burgess, op. cit., I, p. 397; also see Dubreuil, op. cit., p. 143.

62 Dubreuil, op. cit., pl. XVIII.

63 Ibid., pl. XX A.

64 Ibid., pls. XLV A and B.

65 Hurlimann, op. cit., p. 14.

66 Cf. *Q.J.M.S.*, XV, pp. 210-11, 214-15, see pls. *infra*.

67 Acharya, *Indian Architecture*, p. 68.

68 Narasimhacharya, op. cit., II, pl. I.

69 Dubreuil, op. cit., fig. 45.

70 Ibid., pl. XXXV B.
71 Cousens, op. cit., pl. XL.
72 Ibid., pl. LXXXVI.
73 Narasimhacharya, op. cit., I, pl. I.
74 Cf. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, I, pp. 106-107.
75 The name of this battle is not Rakṣasi Taṅgḍi (Devakunjari, *Hampi*. 1970, p. 11), but Rākṣasa Taṅgaḍi (cf. *ante*).
76 Dubreuil, op. cit., fig. 45, pl. XXXVI.
77 Ibid., pl. XX B.
78 Ibid., pl. XXLVII B.
79 Cousens, op. cit., pl. XLII.
80 *J.B.H.S.*, II, pls. opp. pp. 102 and 130.
81 Narasimhacharya, op. cit., II, pl. I.
82 Debreuil, op. cit., pl. XIII.
83 Cousens, op. cit., pl. IX.
84 Dubreuil, op. cit., pl. XXXII.
85 Ibid., pl. XXXVII.
86 Cousens, *Chālukyan Architecture*, pl. XLII.
87 *J.B.H.S.*, II, pl. V.
88 Narasimhacharya, op. cit., II, pl. V.
89 Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, fig. 28.
90 Dubreuil, op. cit., pl. XXXVIII.
91 Longhurst, op. cit., fig. 57.
92 *J.B.H.S.*, II, upper pl., opp. pp. 91, 104.
93 Longhurst, op. cit., fig. 52.
94 Dubreuil, op. cit., pl, XXXVII A.
95 Ibid., pl. XII.
96 Longhurst, op. cit., pl. XIII A.
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99 Dubreuil, op. cit., pls. XXXIX and LI.
100 Ibid., pl. XXXVII A.
101 Ibid., pl. XXXIX B.
102 Ibid., pl. LI.
103 *A.R.S.I.E.*, 1916-17, Appendix C, no. 42.
104 *A.R.I.S.E.*, 1889, no. 17.
105 Gopal Krishna Murty, *Jaina Art and Architecture*, II, pp. 50-51.
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108 Devakunjari, *Hampi*, p. 49.
109 *Jaina Art and Architecture*, II, pls. 248, 249.
110 Seletore, B.A., *Medieaval Jainism*, p. 352.
111 Cousens, op. cit., pp. 135-36.
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113 Fergusson, *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, pp. 76-77, 1910 ed.
114 Ibid., cf. Woodcuts nos. 303-5; Brown, op. cit., I, p. 156; pl. CII A, fig. 1.
115 *E.I.*, VIII, p. 123; f.n. 2.
116 Ibid., no. 10, p. 128.
117 *E.C* , II, SB, Intro. p. 23; pl. XXVIII.
118 *S.C.R.*, 1901, p. 2.
119 Fergusson and Burgess, op. cit., I, pp. 347-348.
120 Ibid., p. 302.
121 Cousens, op. cit., pp. 135 36, pl. 253.
122 Fergusson, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

CHAPTER FOUR

CIVIL, SECULAR AND MILITARY ARCHITECTURE

APART from religious architecture, pertaining exclusively to temples, the craftsmen of Vijayanagara cultivated civil, secular and military structures. Civil architecture implied the construction of towns, capitals, streets, houses, and irrigation devices like tanks, sluices and so forth.

The Construction of the Village

Town planning was one of the features of ancient Indian architecture. In the *Mānasāra*, for example, there are details pertaining to the construction of villages (*grāma-lakṣaṇa-vidhāna*) and the planning of towns (*nagara-vidhāna*).[1] Kauṭilya also deals with the establishment of towns within a fort.[2]

The Vijayanagara emperors followed the age-old custom of permitting *agrahāras* (Brāhmaṇ settlements) to be formed and granted them certain tax exemptions. Under Prauḍha Deva Rāya (A.D. 1476-77?) the Kukkaḷanāḍu ruler Bukka Nāyaka, in order to form an *agrahāra* in Baṇmahaḷḷi, which he had granted, remitted the customs dues of the new citizens.[3] A new *agrahāra*, granted for the attainment of one's father's merit, was renamed and divided into shares, which were gifted to different classes of Brāhmaṇs. This transpired in the case of the village Somahaḷḷi in the Terakanāṁbi kingdom in A.D. 1422.[4] Such new villages were named after prominent persons. In A.D. 1578 new *agrahāras* were styled after the king's mother.[5] They

must have been small areas where the government made arrangements for the convenience of the new inhabitants. In the united *agrahāra* of Muktihariharapura and Belūr, one goldsmith, a carpenter and a blacksmith were permitted to remit the taxes payable by them on condition that they settled there and worked for those people.

Town Construction (*Nagara-vidhāna*)

According to the *Mānasāra*, a town was a large village and it could be situated from the east to west, or from north to south according to the position it occupied. Its requirements were the following: one to twelve streets, it had to be built on a mountain, with facilities for trade and contacts with foreigners. It was to have walls, ditches, a guest-house, and generally it had to be well fortified.[6] We may now see how far these requirements were carried out by the Vijayanagara architects in building their towns. Land was cleared of forest and sites for building towns selected, a tank was constructed, certain taxes and transit-dues remitted to the new dwellers.[7] At time the enterance to a village was graced with a *pīpaḷ* and margosa trees, believed to be a male and female and married just like human beings. When a newly built tank was opened for use, rows of trees were planted on its four sides and to the *pīpaḷ* trees planted at the four corners, the *upanayanam* (sacred thread) ceremony was performed.[8] The boundaries of a town were marked with *liṅga* stones, naming the *liṅgas* after deities like god Rāmeśvara.[9]

Foreign visitors have left their impressions of their visits to some of the Vijayanagara towns. Abdur Razzak, who visited Vijayanagara in A.D. 1443, has recorded how, after seeing a wonderful temple a few miles from Mangalore, on each following day he reached some city or "popular" town. Soon after he saw Belour (Belūr), whose houses were "like palaces" and its women reminded him of the beauty of *houris.* In it stood a temple so lofty that it was visible from many *parasangs* (1 *parasang*-c.=3¼ miles—5 km). In its centre was an open space about ten *ghaz* in extent.[10] Varthema, another traveller, saw in A.D. 1507 Baṭhecala (Bhaṭkaḷ) "a very noble city", which was walled and "very beautiful and about a mile distant from the sea". This fortification required by the *Mānasāra*, was also noted by another sojourner Paes (A.D. 1520-22) who found that the whole country was "thickly populated with cities and villages" and the king (Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya) permitted them to be surrounded by only earthen walls "for fear of their becoming too strong" but, if a city was at the extremity of his empire, he allowed it to have stone walls, "so that they may make fortresses of the cities but not of the towns."[11] It is interesting to note how even the earthen walls of Bhaṭkaḷ, noted in 1522 by Paes, had been demolished eight years earlier, as observed by Duarte Barbosa (1504-14). He clearly states that Bhaṭkaḷ "situated in level country" was very "popular and not walled". It was surrounded with "many gardens, very good estates and very fresh and abundant water."[12] He saw Mangalore "very full of woods and palm trees . . . with fine buildings and houses of

prayer of the Gentiles" which were very large and enriched with large revenues.[13] Defences of cities if demolished or ruined were rebuilt. In A.D. 1554, during the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya, the outer *peṭe* (market) of Bāgūr in the Chitradurga District, which had been ruined, was rebuilt, and named after Ere Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka as Kṛṣṇapura. To attract settlers, they were assured of exemption from taxation for one year and confirmation or the exclusion of old claims, if they settled there.[14] The city of Gersoppe, larger than Kṣemapura, was full of fine Jina *caityas*, king's palaces, abodes of *yogis*, "lines of merchants with crowds of people devoted to acts of merit and liberality.[15]

The Construction of Houses

The houses in the towns and cities were also noticed by foreign visitors. Paes noticed them in the capital itself. Going through that city, in the street leading to the emperor's palace, he saw "all streets and rows of houses with many figures and decorations pleasing to look at."[16] Eight years earlier Barbosa in the same city had found "great houses very well built."[17] In Ginji, one of their provincial capitals, the nobles had elaborate houses.[18]

The sizes of the houses are sometimes mentioned. An inscription of 1328 records that houses were six cubits wide and twenty cubits long, some were 12 cubits wide and 20 cubits long and others, 12 cubits wide and 30 cubits long.[19] Such houses according to Barbosa though in some cases were built of thatch but still "they were very well built and arranged according to occupations in long streets with many open spaces."[20]

The houses at least in the capital had cemented roofs. Paes tells us, when describing the first line of defence, about which more anon, that inside it were "very beautiful rows of buildings after their manner with flat roofs."[21] In the new city of Nāgalapura its houses had one flat roof with "towers". They had pillars "all open, with verandahs inside and out," where they could easily put up people if they desired so that they seemed "like houses belonging to a king."[21] Such houses had apparently upper storeys regarding which Paes contradicts himself. First he observes that their houses were "not built with storeys" but later he notes that their houses were built "from storey to storey."[22] Paes had heard that "there were more than a hundred thousand dwelling houses" in the capital, "all one-storeyed and flat-roofed", each one of which had "a low surrounding wall."[23] This implies that the houses of the common people had certain uniform features: an upper floor, a flat roof and a compound wall. Sometimes on "the top" of such houses, there were "other houses" suggesting another storey. According to Paes, the plans of such houses were "good" and those flat roofs appeared "like terraces."[24] Such storeys are called *māḷige* (upstairs) in a grant of 1393.[25] Such roofs were probably made in view of the scarcity of rain but, in cases of heavy rainfall, how they had combated leakage is not known. Probably they

must have cemented the leakage spots.

The houses of the middle classes were observed by Caesar Frederick in A.D. 1567, who noted how they were "walled with the earth and plaine, all saving the three palaces of the three tyrant Brethren" (Rāma Rāya, Tirumala and Veṅkaṭādri).[26] The tenements of the poorer classes like the Corumbins (Kurabas) "were little straw houses" "whose doors were so low that "men had to creep in and out". This is reminiscent of Toḍa houses on the Nilgiris but this looks improbable. Inside such houses, they had mats to sleep on and cavities in the ground for threshing rice and how they survived was to Linschoten "a wonder."[27] In 1623 Pietro Della Valle found that it was almost the universal practice to "varnish" the ground or the floors of houses with cow-dung mixed with water. In that year at Ikkeri (Keḷadi) that traveller, especially outside noticed the third enclosure of Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka's fort was "thinly. . . ill built."[28] But as noticed earlier this was not always the case throughout the empire.

The nature of the houses obviously depended on the nature of the people and their financial status. The dancing girls in the capital had excellent houses. Abdur Razzak, observed that "the splendour of those houses" was "beyond all description." On each side of the street occupied by them there were paintings: "figures of lions, panthers, tigers and other animals so well painted to seem alive."[29] It may be recalled how Paes had also scanned such paintings when describing the houses of nobles.

Streets: Common and Royal

There were various types of streets in Vijayanagara and its provinces. The ambassador Abdur Razzak observed how, behind the Mint in the capital "was a sort of bazar . . . more than 300 yards long and 20 broad."[30] This was called the Street of the Prostitutes or *Sūḷe Gere* as the Kannaḍa poets named it.[31] The poet Adṛṣya (*c.* 1580) has described it. Abdur Razzak saw it and has depicted it graphically, but strangely enough he calls it the Bazar Street which, as will be seen presently, was an altogether different road. In describing this Street of Prostitutes, Abdur Razzak relates how the dancing girls had houses (*khanan*) and forecourts (*safhah*). In front of those houses, instead of benches (*kursi*) "lofty seats were built of excellent stone."[32]

The Street of Merchants

There were many streets in the city of Vijayanagara which foreign visitors witnessed and they have left us their accounts about them. Paes, an eye-witness, relates how proceeding forwards from the King's palace to "the other gate" there were two Kāli temples where sheep and goat sacrifices were performed daily and close to these temples was a "triumphal car" covered "with carved work and and images" and one day in the year during a festival, it was dragged in "such streets"

which it could traverse conveniently. Going forwards there was "a broad and beautiful street" with full rows of "fine houses and streets of the sort" he had described earlier, belonging to men "rich enough to afford such." This was the street of "many merchants" who sold precious stones and here was held the daily evening fair. At the end of this street was the gate of a wall which went to meet the wall of "the second gate". Passing through this gate, one went into the street of "many craftsmen" where they sold many things. There was held the weekly Friday fair where pigs, fowls, dried fish and the produce of the country were sold. In such a manner a fair was held every day in different parts of the city.[33]

Main Streets or Thoroughfares

Besides these streets mentioned above, there were certain main thoroughfares in the capital. Paes found there "the principal street" as he calls it and going along which, one met "the chief gateways" (*temdes hua porta principal*) in front of the King's Palace. Opposite this main road was another thoroughfare which passed along to the other side of the city and across this open space passed "all the carts and conveyances carrying stores and everything else." Commenting on the utility of this commercial artery, Paes observed "and because it is in the middle of the city it cannot but be useful."[34]

New streets were built to reach new cities. Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya built for his queen Nāgalāṁbā a new city called after her Nāgalāpura (mod. Hospet). To reach this place was built a street "as wide as a place of tourney with both sides lined throughout with rows of houses and shops" where they sold "everything." Along this road were planted "many trees" by the king's order "so as to afford shade to those that passed along". On this road he had also constructed "a very beautiful temple of stone (probably the fine shrine of Anaṅtaśayana—a mile or so from Hospet on the road to Kamalāpur) and some of those trees had survived for several years. There were other temples which "the Captains and great lords caused to be erected."[35]

Outside the city walls on the north were "three very beautiful pagodas (temples), one was of Vitella (Viṭṭhalasvāmi), the other Aoperadianar (Virūpākṣa?)" and the third name was omitted. The one mentioned second was held "in most veneration and opposite to it was its principal gate to the east." That led into "a very beautiful street of very beautiful houses with balconies and arcades" in which were sheltered pilgrims who had gone there on a pilgrimage.[36] Probably that was a *serai* or *dharmaśālā*. Ruins of such structures can still be seen in the ruins of Hampi like the ruins of a fine bazar.

The Royal Palace of the Emperors in the Capital

The first capital of the Vijayanagara empire was the ancient city of Kuṅjarakoṇa later known as Ānegunḍi, the Elephant Pit. This is evident from Paes who says

"There is a city built there which they call Senagumdym and they say that of old it was the capital of the kingdom."[37] This must have remained so till it was shifted to the other bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrā where the new capital was built, in 1368. It must have taken some ten years to build it for a copper-plate grant describes it in 1378 as having been raised by Bukka I (*vijatya viśvam vijayābhidhānam viśvottaram yo nagarīm vyadhattā*). This city called in 1368 as only the new capital, ten years later was hailed as the supreme city (*viśvottaram yo nagarīm vyadhattā*).[38]

The most important structure in that capital was the royal palace built on a gigantic scale. Probably there were many palaces besides the chief palace of the emperor. Those palaces had "enclosing walls" surrounding them and inside them "were many rows of houses."[39] The palaces of Rāma Rāya and his two brothers were, as Caesar Frederick observed, like the Hindu temples, built "with lime and fine marble."[40] Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's palace was also "surrounded by a very strong wall like some of the others and encloses a greater space (*terra moor cerca*) than all the castle of Lisbon." Paes found that the emperor's palace had a gate "opening on to the open space" (*terreyro*) and over that gate was a tower of some height" made like others with its verandahs and outside those gates began the walls of the palace. At the gate stood many door-keepers with leather scourges in their hands and sticks.[41] Paes's descriptions cannot be cited in full because they are often vague and also confusing especially about the palaces.

The palace had chambers within it, with pillars of carved stone. Paes saw one "all of ivory" from top to bottom, the pillars of the cross-timbers and at the top had roses and flowers of lotuses "so well executed that there could be no better". The palace was "so rich and beautiful that you would hardly find anywhere another such." The palace had court-yards, corridors running the whole length of it, stair-cases and dancing halls.[42]

The royal palace had an audience hall where the emperor granted audience. Abdur Razzak saw the emperor Deva Rāya II "seated in great state in the forty-pillared hall and a great crowd of Brāhmaṇs and others stood on the right and left of him."[43]

Nuniz saw the palaces of Acyuta Rāya (1535-37) which he found were "very large and with large rooms." They had cloisters like monasteries, with cells and in each one dwelt one of his wives. Nuniz again reiterates that the king's houses were "large" and that there were "great intervals between one house and another." The area of the palace of the emperor must have therefore been comparatively considerable for according to Nuniz, "more than four thousand women" lived in it. "Some of them were dancing girls, others bearers (*bois*) who carried the king's wives on their shoulders and the king also in the interior of the palace."[44] What Nuniz obviously implied in this case is that the women-bearers had to carry the ladies of the emperor in their respective litters which they had to lift on their shoulders.

Palaces of the Feudatories

The palaces of the feudatories of the Vijayanagara emperors were of course comparatively smaller and less ornate than those at the capital. Pietro Della Valle in 16²3 saw at Ikkeri (Keḷadi) the palace of Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka. It was within "a fort or citadel of good largeness, encompassed with a great ditch and certain ill-built bastions." At the entrance there were "two very strong but narrow bulwarks" (bastions). Inside the citadel were many houses in several streets. Della Valle and his companions passed through two gates on horse-back and found that at both of them stood guards and then they reached the third gate on foot and entered a "kind of court about which were sitting on porches many prime courtiers and other persons of quality." Then they went to the fourth gate guarded by soldiers and on entering it they found the king Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka, seated in a kind of porch on the opposite side of a small court, on a pavement somewhat raised from the earth, covered with a canopy like a square tent made of boards but gilded. The floor was covered with a piece of tapestry and the king sat on a little quilt outside the tent, leaning on one of the pillars which upheld it on the right hand, having at his back two "great cushions of fine white silk."[45]

Other Palaces

Scanty light can be thrown on the palaces of feudatories in their respective capitals. In the centre of the houses and streets in Ginji stood the palace of the Nāyaka. In 1599 it stood at Ginji with a fine fountain in its centre. The palace of Liṅgamma Nāyaka at Vellore was wrought of marble, adorned with gold and precious stones.[46] There is no doubt that the Viceroys imitated their masters in the construction of their palaces also. The palace of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore contained an elephant stable, a horse stable, and a separate secretariat building. Opposite one of the palace was a quarter called the *Koṇe Vakīli* in which lived the cowherds of the town.[47] Ikkeri Veṅkaṭappa's palace, mentioned earlier, had "a great ditch" encompassing the palace, ill-built bastions, several streets and four gates, which were always guarded by armed soldiers.[48]

Irrigational Devices: Sluices, Dams and Tanks

Tanks in India had sluices noticed as early as the second century by Strabo[49] for regulating the flow of water. In Vijayanagara sluices were named after prominent persons. The sluice of a tank at Kunigal was called after the great minister Irugappa *Daṇḍanāyaka*.[50] In 1409 a sluice could irrigate 50 *khaṇḍugas* of land.[51]

Certain faults were noticed in the construction of tanks. They were the oozing of water from a dam, the existence of saline soil, its situation at the boundary of two kingdoms, its elevation (*kūrma*) in the centre of the bed of a tank, scanty supply of water and an extensive stretch of land to be irrigated. Bhāskara Bhavadūra, a son

of Bukka, built a tank at Porumamilla which was 5000 *rekha daṇḍas* in length, 5 *rekha daṇḍas* in breadth and 7 *rekha daṇḍas* in height.[52] Though one thousand workers were labouring at the tank and the dam daily, and a hundred carts were employed for the masonry work of the sluice and wall, to complete "this most excellent tank" it took them two years.

Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya had a large tank excavated inside the first fortress of Vijayanagara, and its architects seem to have followed the classical rules prescribed by Antarājan in the Porumamilla tank inscription referred to above. Paes tells us that the tank had the width of a falcon-shot and it was at the mouth of two hills so that the water which came from either side collected in it and besides this, water came to it "from more than three leagues by pipes" which ran along the lower parts of the range outside. This water was brought from a lake which itself overflowed into a little river. That tank had three "large pillars handsomely carved with figures" which were connected above with "certain pipes" by which people could obtain water to irrigate their gardens and rice-fields. In order to make this tank (in reality a reservoir) they had broken down a hill which had enclosed the ground occupied by the tank. Paes saw about fifteen to twenty thousand labourers "looking like ants" working in that tank and its execution was entrusted by that emperor to his "captains" each of whom had to see that the people working under him did their work and completed the tank. Still that tank burst twice or thrice and the king on inquiring from his Brāhmans the reason, they told him that the gods required a sacrifice.[53] Nuniz corroborates this, explaining that "unless he (the king) spilled there the blood of men or women or buffaloes that work would never be finished." When Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya had his prisoners and those sentenced to death beheaded there, the work proceeded and the tank was eventually completed. By means of this water the people were able to make several improvements in the city, open up many channels which irrigated rice-fields and gardens and the emperor for encouraging such improvements exempted them from the payment of revenue which was estimated at 20,000 *pardaos*.[54]

A tank could be claimed to be complete "after an embankment with plenty of earth had been formed and built up with stone and a stone sluice was fixed and secured with bricks and good mortar. Buffaloes were employed to remove silt if it was found necessary, at the rate of twelve bags for each buffalo, working from sunrise till noon.[55] In the midst of a large tank like the one at Srīvilliputtūr a *maṅṭapa* was built in its centre of the stone-work.[56]

At times people using a tank were required to make any repairs if necessary. An inscription from Mulbāgal records that certain Brāhmaṇas were directed to restore a dam and the reservoir behind it.[57] Nuniz, when dealing with the construction of the tank excavated by Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, has furnished a strange account of the lack or rather of the absence of masons who could utilise lime in the construction of buildings. Nuniz (1535-37) relates what was done to remedy it. "But since he had no means in the country for making it (the lake for storing water) nor any one who

could do it, he sent to Goa to ask the governor to send some Portuguese masons and the Governor sent him Joao della Ponte, a great worker in stone to whom the King told how he wanted the tank to be built. Though it seemed to this man (*mestre* modern *maistry*) impossible to be made nevertheless he told the King he would do it and asked him to have lime prepared, at which the King laughed much, for in his country when they build a house they knew not how to use lime. Then the King commanded to throw down quantities of stone and cast down many great rocks into the valley, but everthing fell to pieces, and the King sent to call his wise men and sorcerers and asked them what they thought of this thing." They told him that, unless he spilt there "the blood of men or women or buffaloes, that work would never be finished." When that was done, the work proceeded and was completed.[58]

Nuniz's account, obviously a hear-say account for he visited the capital only during the reign of Acyuta Rāya, lacks credibility. Paes, who personally saw the work of the tank in progress, never refers to this anecdote or the lack of the knowledge of using lime and of requisitioning a Portuguese mason could not undertake the work for which he was called. Several foreign visitors have mentioned the existence of masons whose masonry work can still be seen in the ruins not only in the capital but also the provincial capitals of the feudatories, like Vellore, Penukoṇḍa and Caṅdragiri.

Secular Architecture

In this category may be included that type of architecture which developed as a result of the contact with Islam and came into existence especially during the Āravīḍu dynasty. There are several buildings at Vijayanagara, Caṅdragiri, Ginji, Tanjore and Madurai, which have been characterised as "Indo-Sarasenic."[59] This appellation is, in a way, a misnomer because the Muslim invaders of India did not evidently introduce any new architectural elements into Indian art but merely adopted Buddhist ideas especially of the radiating arch into their own architecture. Such a pointed arch was obviously employed in Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor before the advent of the Muslims.[60] Though India had intimate contact with these regions from ancient times[61] it is superfluous to think that the Muslim invasions were the cause of the adoption of such an arch in India particularly when a very similar arch of the Buddhist *caitya*-window existed in Buddhist art. The carved entrance to one of the rock-cut hermitages in Bihar near Gaya called the Lomasa Ṛiṣi cave discloses a clear idea of this radiating arch which became so popular in Hindu architecture later. This hermitage is considered to be one of those dedicated by Aśoka to the Ājīvika sect and dates from about the third century B.C. and there is little doubt that it is a primitive Buddhist cave.[62] Such a type came to be adopted in Hindu architecture like the *stūpa* window no. XXVI of the Ajanta cave, ascribed to the 7th century A.D. and it can be seen there as the horse-shoe arch.[63] In view of the early commercial contact between Arabia and India,[64] it is not improbable that the

Arabs themselves adopted the Buddhist arch in their own architecture. The process of adoption of the Indian Buddhist arch was first commenced by the Arabs in Western India in the first centuries after the Hegira and continued in the successive centuries by the Arabs, Afghans, Turks, Paṭhaṇs and Mughals who had invaded India. That was probably the reason why such an arch, whether ordinary, stilted of foliated, with other variations came to be christened, though of course incorrectly, as Sarasenic.

The reality of the adoption of such an arch by the Muslims can be seen by examining some of the typical structures of the Muslims especially from the 13th century. The foliated arch can be seen in the following structures: the Arhai-din-kā Jhomprā (*c*. 1205), the tomb of Iltutmish (Altumsh) (1235), the tomb of Ghiyasud-din Tughlak, tomb of Mubarak Shah Sayyid (Dec. 1434), Moti-ki Masjid, (*c*. 1505), Jamāli-Kamāli Masjid (1536), the Madrasā of Muhammad Gawān at Bidar, and the Gol Gumbaz at Bijāpur—all depict the foliated arch.[65] The similarity of such arches and the one in *caitya*-window of cave XIX is quite obvious. Such an arch can also be seen at Gulbargā. It is not surprising that such a type of arch came to be utilised in the architecture of Vijayanagara throughout its empire from the 16th to the 18th centuries.

There was another element in this type of secular architecture viz. the dome which can be seen in many Muslim buildings of the period from the 14th century onwards. The dome either plain or slightly ornamented can be seen in the ensuing edifices during the following periods in India; the Alai Darwāzā (1305), the tomb of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak (1325), the Kalan Masjid, Delhi (1380), the tomb of Firuz Shah Tughlak (Dec. 1388), the Shīsh Gumbad (15th century), Delhi, the tomb of Mubarak Shah Sayyid, (December, 1434) and Moti-ki Masjid, Delhi (*c*. 1505). Such a type of dome was also adopted by the Muslims in the South as can be seen in the Jāmi Masjid, Gulbargā (1367), the Madrasā of Muhammad Gawān, Bidar (1481), and so forth in several other buildings of this type.[66]

Another element of specific interest in this connection is the niche adjacent to the main door of the structure either in mosques or masoleums. Such niches can be noticed in the following structures: the Jami Masjid (1470), Jaunpur; Moti-ki Masjid, Delhi (*c*. 1505); the Taj Mahal, Agra (1634), the entrace to the court-yard of the Jami Masjid, Champaner; and the Jami Masjid, Gulbargā (1367), to cite a few examples.[67]

"The history of the mutual relations between Hindu and Musalman is plainly told in the remains of the buildings of the Moorish quarter of Vijayanagara."[68] This statement of Havell is not entirely correct or justifiable. What Havell called the Moorish quarter is not traceable in Vijayanagara and those which now survive cannot be given that appellation without adequate evidence.

There are two classes of buildings in Vijayanagara with the pointed arch: one is constructed entirely of granite blocks and the other of the plastered and storeyed variety. To the former class belongs the so-called Elephant Stables and what is

styled the Guards' Quarters.[69]

The former could never have been the Elephant Stables for several reasons, some of which may be cited. The emperors of Vijayanagara had, from their earliest days numerous elephants in their armed forces and this has been borne out both by their own inscriptions and the accounts of travellers who had visited this capital from time to time. This implied that they must have had separate quarters or stables or sheds for those animals and they could never have been so close to the royal apartments as the so-called Elephants are, both from the angles of sanitation and their high sense of culture. Still these elephants, at least a considerable number of them seem to have been kept within reasonable limits of their accessibility. The Persian ambassador Abdur Razzak noted, "Although the King possesses a considerable number of elephants in his dominions, the largest of these animals are kept near the palace in the interior of the first and second fortress, between the north and west."[70] He also added: "Each had a separate compartment, the walls of which are extremely solid and the roof composed of strong pieces of wood. The neck and the back of these animals are bound with chains, the ends of which are strongly fastened to the top of the roof."[71]

The present so-called Elephants Stables are not either between the first or the second fortresses nor are their roofs made of wood. The arrangements for tying them up with chains attached to the roof are absent. They are not near the royal palace as alleged: they are situated outside the so-called harem area. The entire structure comprises of eleven large rooms with lofty domed roofs. They have a central apartment with a square turret and two flights of steps leading to it. Each of the eleven stalls has large door-frames with three niches on either side of each door, which are comparatively small and two large niches on either side of each door. The three upper niches are above each large niche on either side of the one large door. All these niches and the door have the typical arched facade. The original stucco and plaster adornment seems to have disappeared, especially from the exterior while in the interior traces of it still remain. There are no vestiges of any doors which probably never existed.

Each of these rooms has over it a dome which is not identical in all cases. Some have the two stepped dome with a crowning lotus motif dome and every dome is squinched with pointed arches at its corners. The domes have various shapes being vaulted, round and octagonal. The domes on the top of the stalls are also circular, vaulted and octagonal, lending a variety to the different domes, but whether they were finials or *śikharas* cannot be made for they are missing in the existing ruins. Above the central apartment there is a square turret which still has two flights of steps by which one could reach it. The upper turret also, like the doors below, has the same conical arches and there must have also been another storey over this turret as the remains of one point to it. But what actually existed over his storey cannot be determined for its roof has fallen off and what still stands tells us precious little. Probably it had a dome but no trace of it exits. On each of this

central structure below, of course, at the ground level are five domes over every stall, not one being of the same pattern. The niches appear as though they were for armed guards.

These seven larger domes are the exact prototypes of the domes of the Jami Masjid at Bijapur,[72] and the entire structure resembles the Baradwar mosque at Gaur. In fact the Jami Masjid, built by Ali Adil Shah I of Bijapur after 1565, reproduces the several cells of this Hindu building and nearly all the arches are similar to those seen at Vijayanagara. It is very likely that Ali Adil Shah was so much impressed by the building at Vijayanagara that he caused a similar structure to be raised at Bijapur. The several apartments are crowned by small domes concealed in the thickness of the roof and capped with a terraced roof exactly as at Vijayanagara. This Vijayanagara structure was most probably never a stable for elephants but a mosque for the Muslim recruits of his armed forces.[73] In this building between the two entrances the wall is ornamented on the top with three similar arches, with a fairly large one below, which gives a variety to the whole edifice. It is quite possible that the central square cell of this mosque at Vijayanagara, which had a two storied structure above it, was ornamented by a dome larger than any one existing on the site, just like the dome on the Jami Masjid,[74] though it can be seen no more. This Vijayanagara edifice has those pointed arches which crown the other structures in the city. This is seen for example in that building called the Guards' Quarters,[75] the "Concert Hall",[76] as well as the building which goes by the name of "Rāma Rāya's Treasury." No doubt this arch resembles the structural bases of the arches in which the foliated arch of the Hindu shrine was adopted by local craftsmen for purely structural purposes in the Ali Shahi-Pir-kī Masjid at Bijapur.[77] Nevertheless, though this arch must have originated from the Buddhist *kudu* appearing on the roof of Hindu roofs shrines like the Viṭṭhalasvāmi at Vijayanagara, its Muslim influence must not be exaggerated.

This arch is again seen in the buildings of the "Zenāna Enclosure."[78] It is incredible to think that so many women of the emperors of Vijayanagara could have lived in this little structure pointed out today as the "Queen's Palace". Nevertheless the *Basatin-us-Salatin* states that "after this (the battle of 1565) they (the five Sultans), devoted their attention to Vijayanagara and raised mighty and lofty buildings."[79] Either this text is recording some legends or those marauders never built any structure at all during their six months' stay there for no such purely Muslim buildings are traceable in the city among the ruins now extant. All those edifices, which reveal even some vestiges of Islamic architecture and they hardly exist, if they are carefully scrutinised, although they have the pointed arch which is not exclusively an Islamic motif, cannot be styled in any manner entirely Islamic structures. The arches in the buildings at Vijayanagara contain above them the *kīrtimukha*, which was never an Islamic emblem or architectural feature or symbol. In the cases of the Lotus Mahal and within it also, on its plastered walls, images of Hindu deities exist and, had they been exclusively Muslim structures or even built by them, as

alleged by Muslim writers during their stay in the capital, none of the fanatical Muslims in the frenzy of their triumph would ever have tolerated such sculptures to exist. Moreover, exactly similar buildings exist at Caṅdragiri, Penukoṇḍa, Giṅji and even at Madurai, which were all exclusively Hindu cities and no Muslim vestiges can be discovered there in them.

The so-called Queen's Palace was probably the prison of Sadāśiva Rāya when Rāma Rāya, the famous *aḷiya* (son-in-law) of those days, was at the height of his power.

That the unfortunate Sadāśiva was imprisoned all his life is borne out by Caesar Frederick, another visitor to the great Vijayanagara empire's capital in 1567. He observed: "Thirty years was like this kingdom governed by three brethren which were Tyrants, during which keeping the rightful King in prison it was their use every year once to show him to the people, and they at their pleasures ruled as they listed."[80] Sadāśiva must have been imprisoned in a fortified place. Couto, moreover, adds that this prison was a strongly fortified tower with iron doors and surrounded by sentries[81] where, according Anquetil du Perron, Sadāśiva lived for thirteen years.[82] This explanation helps us in identifying that building with watch-towers round the little enclosure containing the basement of a palace fit only for a royal prisoner like poor Sadāśiva Rāya. These watch-towers are sometimes square, as in the case of the northern watch tower or ocatagonal as in the southern watch-tower.[83] All watch-towers have narrow steps which lead up to the second storey, which could hardly have been negotiated by ladies like the queens. In the second storey, through the pointed arches even on the hottest day, comes wafting often the most pleasant breeze which could have been welcomed only by a prisoner like Sadāśiva. These structures have been plastered with a wonderfully tenacious mortar, the secret of which the Vijayanagara craftsmen presumably learnt from their neighbouring kingdom of Bijapur.[84]

Another building in which the foliated arch appears at its best is the "Lotus Mahal" which has also been called *Citrāgni Mahāl*. This building is evidently not the same structure, which Duarte Barbosa refers to as he presupposes it to be much larger than what it now appears to be[85] but it is probable that this was the palace of Rāma Rāya referred to in the *Svaramelakalānidhi*. That text relates that Rāma Rāya had a palace called the *Ratna Kūṭa* constructed by his minister Rāmaya *Amātya* and he was struck with admiration as it excelled even Vaijayaṅti, the palace of the gods. In that palace surrounded by extensive gardens, ornamented with statues, adorned with cool tanks abounding with swans, Rāma Rāya spent his time absorbed in literature, music and other arts.[86]

As it now stands, it is a pavilion with two storeys, square in design, with recesses at it sides. The ground-floor has ornamented an *adhiṣṭhāna* of stone, with twenty-four square pillars having foliated and recessed arches; with vestiges of medallions in their spandrels, scroll-designs and *kīrtimukha* emblems at the top. All the variegated designs and ornamentation mentioned in the *Svaramela-*

kalānidhi were probably present here. What precisely was inside this immense structure initially cannot be made out for the interior is now quite plain, only the square pillars are linked with the foliated arches, the ceilings comprising many vaults and the typical domes, designed symmetrically and the central ceiling only has a lotus-bud design which is all impressive. In the centre the corbels and immense niches with relics of seated images which, being disfigured, cannot be identified with precision. This central hall is crowned with domed and fluted towers (*śikharas*) one over another, making the entire structure imposing and striking. When it was occupied it must have appeared a very elegant building fit to be called a real palace.

This pointed arch appears in some other buildings especially in the plastered gateways on the Taḷarigaṭṭu Road and in the domed gateway to the east of Hampi as well as on the gates of Ānegundi, the parent city of Vijayanagara. In the first two gateways, the construction is elaborate and these are two-storeyed but of these the former looks more elaborate than the latter. It has three arches on each floor like those of the so-called Elephant Stables. In the latter the arch is more drawn out wider in a rectangular block, the whole of which is plastered. On its supper square basement is placed a huge dome similarly plastered and girdled with a beautiful floral frieze. No radiating arch appears in what is called Bhīma's Gateway which has two purely Vijayanagara *puṣpa-boḍigai* or corbels protruding out.

The Roofs

The roofs of the storeyed building which was probably Rāma Rāya's palace could hardly have been a Musalman structure. The roofs of the ground floor are clearly those of a Vijayanagara shrine, though they are not so elongated. The roofs of the storey are evidently imitations of the Kadamba *vimānas*, which went tapering in a series of horizontal *tālā* or steps from a broad and flat base. This again reveals how the Vijayanagara craftsmen developed their composite architecture by absorbing various elements from the different currents of architecture which had preceded them.

Similar roofs are also seen in the palaces of the Vijayanagara rulers when they shifted their capital to Caṅdragiri, where Veṅkaṭa II went in 1602.[87] The arches here are also pointed and likewise there is a mixture of the flat and curved roofs. The radiating arches in the verandah of this palace are much like those arches in the interior of the Jāmi Masjid at Bijapur.[88] The storeys of this palace are also similar to those of the Sāt Manzil also at Bijapur.[89]

At Ginji again this type of structure appears anew. Here there is a square tower which is one immense rectangular block with five radiating arches in each section rising up to seven storeys. The last storey is a small square with a roof exactly like those at Vijayanagara and at Caṅdragiri. This building, lofty and elegant, has the peculiar appearance of a pigeon trove.

Finally, in the days of Tirumala Nāyaka this radiating arch continued, and it can be noticed in the palace of that feudatory at Madurai as well as in the lovely pavilions built in the Teppakuḷam. This system of erecting pavilions in tanks was no original idea of the Madurai architects. They evidently copied it from the Vijayanagara craftsmen and artisans who were quite familiar with it. At Vijayanagara itself there is an octagonal bath built in a purely Hindu style. Owing to its plain appearance it may be claimed to belong to an early period of this school of architecture. In the centre of this bath still survives an octangonal island structure on which stood a pavilion. Here the foundations for the pillars of this pavilion are still visible. Similar pavilions were built in the Teppakuḷam at Madurai containing the radiating arches. This usage discloses how this Buddhist-Muslim arch was closely associated with purely Hindu symbols and figures of ornamentation like the traditional *kīrtimukha*.

Military Architecture

The Vijayanagara architects and craftsmen were not only expert builders of shrines and civilian structures but they had specialised in constructing forts and defensive devices. This was nothing new for the city of Vijayanagara arose out of a concept of protecting the Hindu Religion (*Dharma*) and the Hindu people with their possessions. Had it not been for those inspired emperors and their valiant people, the whole of South India would have been overwhelmed by Islam and converted into a virtual dominion of Islamic powers under one religion—Islam.

The City Fortifications

The first capital of the five victorious brothers, mentioned earlier, in A.D. 1346 was the ancient city of Kuñjarakoṇa later known as Ānegunḍi or the Elephant Pit. What it precisely signified cannot be positively specified although it evidently means a place where elephants were caught in a pit, thereby suggesting that elephant hunting might have prevailed there. Even in the 16th century the tradition that Ānegunḍi was the first capital of the Vijayanagara emperors is recorded by the traveller Paes who says: "There is a city built there which they called Senagumdym and they say that of old it was the capital of the kingdom."[90] This capital of the empire continued till it was shifted to the other bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrā where the new capital, which became internationally renowned, was built. It was presumably commenced to be raised in A.D. 1368 and it must have taken some years to complete it. This period must have been ten years as can be seen from a copper-plate grant of 1378 which describes it thus, standing that Bukka I built it (*vijayatā viśvam vijayābhidhānam viśvottaram yo nagarīm vyadhattā*). Its fort walls were like arms stretched out to embrace Hemakūṭa (a hill nearby). The points of its battlements were like filaments, its suburbs like its blossoms, its elephants like bees, its hills

were reflected in the waters of its moat like stems—the whole city resembled the lotus on which the goddess Lakṣmī was ever seated. There, with the Tuṅgabhadrā as his foot-stool and Hemakūṭa as his throne, Bukka Rāya was seated like Virūpākṣa for the protection of the people of the earth.[91] From this poetic account some idea of its natural fortifications can be formed: the natural hills and the river Tuṅgabhadrā first formed its natural fortifications. Its northern outpost on the northern bank of this river was the ancient Āneguṇḍi and its eastern outpost was Kampili, which will be mentioned shortly. This new city in 1368 was called only the new capital but ten years later, viz. in 1378, it was hailed as the supreme city (*viśvoitaraṁ yo nagarīm vyadhattā*). This implies that this city, built between July and November in 1368 by Bukka I, was developed and constructed in ten years till in 1378 it came to be hailed as the new city and its fame spread far and wide to such an extent that even in 1397 it was known as "the new great royal city of Vijayanagara"[92]

In constructing this great city its builders kept in view the principles enunciated by medieval thinkers like Śukrācārya. He had prescribed that a capital should not be far away from natural barriers like hills, that it should have forests and shrubs essential for its inhabitants, that it had to be near a river, with access to the sea, and that it should be in the form of a circle.[93]

Whether Medieval Thinkers' Sanctions were Observed

Apart from any poetical description appearing in inscriptions, fortunately alien visitors to the city from time to time until its virtual destruction in 1565 have left fairly clear accounts of what they saw of that capital and they help us in forming some idea of its military architecture. Nicolo dei Conti (1420-21), a visitor to that city, observed that it was situated "near very steep mountains."[94] This would seem to satisfy one of Śukrācārya's injuctions. Another sojourner, Nikitin (1468-74), furnishes some more details about its fortifications. He says that it was surrounded by three forts, intersected by a river (Tuṅgabhadrā) "bordering on one side on a dreadful jungle and on the other on a dale and to any purpose convenient. On one side it is quite inaccessible, a road goes right through the town and, as the mountain rises high with a ravine below, the town is impregnable."[95] Some features of these natural defences were noticed by alien visitors and contemporary chroniclers. Paes (1520-22) observed these mountains and he says that he could not write about the size of the city because he was unable to see it from any one spot, and, though he climbed a hill, he could not see it all " because it lies between several ranges of hills."[96] Nuniz (1535-37) is less specific and almost vague about these hills and states "This plain lies in the middle of these two rivers and there are large lakes therein and wells and some little streams where the city is situated and a hill (apparently alluding to Hemakūṭa) which "looks like a woman's breast and is of natural formation."[97] Ceasar Frederick (1567) found that the city was fortified with walls within which were "certain mountains."[98] Duarte Barbosa was clearer and

during 1504-14 he noted how the city was "surrounded by one side by a very good wall and on another by a river, and on the other, by a mountain."[99]

Śukrācārya's next injuction that a capital should have forests and shrubs essential for the benefits of its inhabitants was also carefully observed by the builders of the great city of Vijayanagara. Two sojourners' views may be cited to examine whether this injuction too was carried out. Paes noticed in 1520-22 that, from the first circuit of its defences until the last, there were fields, with many gardens and much water, orchards and a little grove of palms. More specifically he states "Between all these enclosures are plains and valleys where rice is grown and there are gardens with many orange trees, limes, citrons and radishes (*rabãos*) and other kinds of garden produce."[99A] Varthema had found it "well supplied."[100] Describing it in more detail Varthema noted how that city was "extremely fertile" and was "endowed with all kinds of delicacies."[101] Even Abdur Razzak (1443) had observed that "between the first, second, and third walls, there are cultivated fields, gardens and houses."[102] Even Firishta, who wrote his *History* between 1589—1626-27 and presented its first draft to his patron in 1606, remarked how that country was "full of fastnesses and woods, almost impenetrable to troops."[103]

The next requirement of Śukrācārya was that a capital had to be near the river and with access to the sea. The river in the case of Vijayanagara was the Tuṅgabhadrā on whose right bank it was built and this situation has been mentioned by more than one visitor to that city. Barbosa's reference to this river has already been noticed[104] calling it one of its boundaries. Its accessibility to the sea was through its numerous forts. As the entire country south of the Kṛṣṇā was completely under their control, it is no wonder that its emperors had assumed the grandiose title of "Master of the Eastern, Western, Southern and Northern Oceans." The northern ocean was the river Kṛṣṇā while travellers and foreign visitors from Abdur Razzak down to chroniclers Firishta have invariably mentioned the different ports of this great empire. Abdur Razzak incidentally mentions that it had 300 sea-ports[105] which was no doubt an exaggeration but of its several ports there can be no doubt. Among its important sea-ports may be mentioned Goa, Mangalore, Honnavara and several others on the western and eastern coasts while the river Kṛṣṇā flanked it in the north.

Lastly, the concept of the circle remains to be considered. Abdur Razzak (1443) was the first alien visitor to notice that the fortress of Vijayanagara was "in the form of a circle."[106] This view was repeated by Paes who observed that the city was encircled thus: "This range of hills surrounds the city with a circle of twenty-four leagues, and within this range there are others that encircle it closely."[107] Caesar Frederick also noted that the city was circular in shape."[108]

The Defence Architecture of the Capital

So beautiful was the city of Vijayanagara that Abdur Razzak went into raptures

over it, thus: "The city of Bijanagar is such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth."[109] To Varthema (1503-4) it appeared a "second paradise."[110] This wonderful city was strongly fortified in a very skilful manner. Abdur Razzak testified that the capital was fortified with seven strong walls. He clearly states that Vijayanagara was encircled by seven walls specifying which he says: "These were the seven walls which encircled the city that was throbbing with life."[111] He then describes these walls one by one. Referring to the first wall of the city, he noted how it was a fortress "built on the summit of a mountain and constructed of stones." This clear statement gives undeniable proof that lime was certainly used in the city's fortification although Nuniz, as noted earlier, observed that its use was unknown to Indians and that was why the emperor Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya had asked him to bring a Portuguese mason Joao della Ponte "a great worker in stone" for completing a tank which Indian masons were supposed to complete.[112] This must have been an utter falsehood for Abdur Razzak clearly states that the first fortress was built with "*stones and lime.*"[113] Moreover Paes adds that the fort walls were built with "all of solid masonry."[114] In fact Nuniz himself observes that those walls were "strong walls of heavy masonry without lime the walls packed with earth inside."[115] This view is untenable in view of what Razzak, Caesar Frederick and Paes had specifically stated that the use of lime was certainly known and practised in the construction of civil and military structures in Vijayanagara and throughout its empire.

The Seven Walls of the Capital Fortress

Were there seven fortress walls and why seven is a pertinent question one would like to know. It is only Abdur Razzak who in 1443 found that there were seven walls encircling that capital but he is not corroborated by any of his succeeding visitors in the two following centuries or even by his predecessor Nicolo dei Conti who visited the city in 1420-21, and who only states that the city as noted earlier was situated "near very steep mountains" which do not not exist in its present state.[116] But Abdur Razzak is very specific regarding the number of its walls stating "It (the city) is built in such a manner that seven citadels and the same number of walls enclose each other."[117]

The number seven had been considered sacred and invested with a mystic significance from our classical thinkers and writers.[118] But were there really seven walls and seven fortresses as claimed by Abdur Razzak? Sewell offered the following explanation: the traveller approaching from the south-west and the first line of defence-wall that he saw must have been on the neck between two hills south-west of Hospet. This has been described by Paes as that seen by all travellers on their first arrival from the coast.[119] After Razzak was received at that entrance gate, he is presumed to have passed down the slope through "cultivated fields, houses and gardens" to the entrance of Hospet where the second line of fortification barred the way. Since that town was not then thickly populated, the same

features would meet his eye till he passed a third line of wall on the north side of that town. From that point the houses became thicker, probably forming a long street, with shops on either side of that road, leading thence to the capital. The fourth line wall, with a strong gate-way could be seen from the present village of Malpanaguḍi where several remains of old buildings exist, notably a fine old well of stone, once belonging to some nobility. The fifth line is on the north of Malpanaguḍi where the great gateway still stood though the wall was much damaged and destroyed. The sixth line was passed just to the south of the Kamalāpur tank. The seventh or inner line was the great wall still visible in Sewell's day in good repair north of that village. This last wall surrounded the royal palace and the government offices, the area measuring roughly a mile from north to south and two miles and a quarter from east to west.[120] This plan has been more or less followed by a later writer, D. Devakunjari,[121] but it is hardly possible to accept these suggestions entirely owing to several reasons which need not be dealt with at length.

But were there actually seven lines of fortifications? Nikitin, for example, who visited the capital during the period between 1468-73, namely, about twenty five years after Abdur Razzak specifically states that there were only three walls thus: "This vast city (which he calls Bichenegher) is surrounded by three forts and intersected by a river, bordering on one side on a dreadful jungle, on the other on a dale."[122] How can these two statements be reconciled? This is especially so because almost all the succeeding visitors have invariably maintained that there were only three fortification walls and not seven as Abdur Razzak maintained. If Razzak is to be considered correct, then in the quarter of a century after his visit, the four extra walls must have been broken down as unnecessary: any other explanation is not feasible.

The First Line of Defence

The first line of wall was the outermost of all the fortresses. Abdur Razzak found that the first wall was a fortress of a round shape, built on a mountain, constructed of stones and lime. It had "very solid gates" the guards of which were "constantly at their posts" and examined everything "with a severe inspection."[123] Paes also noticed this wall and observed: "Now turning to the gates of the first range, I say that at the entrance of the gate where those who pass who come from Goa, which is the principal entrance on the western side, this king (Kṛṣṇa Deva) has made within it a very strong city fortified with walls and towers and the gates at the entrances very strong with towers at the gates; these walls are not like those other cities, but are made of very strong masonry such as would be found in few other parts."[124] In the 17th century also Firishta noticed this first wall stating that it was a belt of forest, "full of fastnesses and wood and almost impenetrable to troops."[125] From this first wall to the seventh, namely, the innermost, the distance was two *parasangs* (7 miles). Abdur Razzak also noticed how

strongly the first wall was fortified: "Around the first citadel are stones of the height of a man, one half of which is sunk in the ground while the other half rises above it. These are fixed one besides the other in such a manner that no horse or foot-soldier could boldly or with ease approach the citadel."[126] Paes noticed this type of defence also and observed: "This wall (the outermost) has a moat of water in some places and in the parts where it was constructed on low ground. And there is, separate from it, yet another (defence) made in the following manner. Certain pointed stones of great height are fixed in the ground as high as a man's breast; they are in breadth a lance-shaft and a half, with the same distance between them and the wall. This wall rises in all the low ground till it reaches some hill or rocky land. From this first circuit until you enter the city (last wall or seventh fortress according to Abdur Razzak) there is a great distance"[127] which, as that Persian ambassador noted, was seven miles. This first wall was "very strong and of massive stone-work" but when Paes saw it was "injured in some places."[128]

The Second Wall

The second wall was an enclosure also well fortified. Abdur Razzak continues: "It was so built that it was extremely difficult for an invader to take it by assault." Beyond the circuit of the outer wall (first wall) was an esplanade extending for about fifty yards in which stones are fixed near one another to the height of a man, one half buried firmly in the earth, and the other half rises above it, so that neither foot nor horse however bold can advance with facility near the outer wall."[129] As soon as one entered this first wall through one of its two towers (gates) there were two temples. Paes noticing them found one of them with an enclosing wall while the whole of the other consisted of buildings.[130]

The Third Wall

Paes was careful enough to observe this third wall. He states: "Then going forward you have another gate with another line of wall, and it also encircles the city inside the first, and from here to the king's palace is all streets and rows of houses, very beautiful, and houses of captains and other rich and honourable men; you will see rows of houses with many figures and decorations pleasing to look at."[131] Abdur Razzak merely refers to this line as one with massive walls of stone and with fortified bastions in them. Paes found that this ended the third wall.

The Fourth Wall

Apart from these three walls of defence there was yet another enclosing the royal palace itself. Paes says "This palace of the king is surrounded by a very strong wall like some of the others, and encloses a greater space (*tera moor cerca*)

than all the castle of Lisbon."[132] Here were posted guards at the gates to "collect the *jizyat* or taxes."[133]

Spacing Between the Walls

These fortress walls were not very close or crowded. Abdur Razzak noted: "The space, which separates the first fortress from the second and up to the third fortress, is filled with cultivated fields and with houses and gardens. In the space from the third to the seventh one meets a numberless crowd of people, many shops and a bazar . . The bazars are extremely long and broad."[134]

The size of the city was stated to vary according to the visitors. Paes found it enclosed twenty-four leagues,[135] while Caesar Frederick (1567) noted that the circuit of the city was "four and twenty miles about."[136] Nikitin and Barbosa found it to be "vast" without giving any specific area of it.

Structure of Provincial Fortresses

Like the citadel of Vijayanagara, its provincial fortresses were built more or less on a similar model. Such were the citadels of Penukoṇḍa, Caṅdragiri, Ginji and Ikkeri (Keḷadi). Even smaller ones like Bhaṭkaḷ were walled. For instance, the traveller Varthema, who saw it in 1507, noted how "Bathacala (Bhaṭkaḷa) a very noble city of India is distant from the Deccan five days' journey . . . This city is walled and very beautiful and about a mile distant from the journey."[137] As noted already, these walls were pulled down earlier and again probably rebuilt, for Barbosa (1504-14) had noted that in 1514 its walls had been broken down,[138] for the emperor had decided that towns should never have stone walls round them. This was what Paes noted in 1520-22.[139]

The Fortress of Penukoṇḍa

After the fatal defeat in 1565, according to Caesar Frederick (1567), the seat of the Vijayanagara empire was shifted to Caṅdragiri,[140] which, according to Nico dei Conti (1420-21), had been "a very noble city". He called it Palagonda and it was "ten miles in circumference" and eight days' journey from Vijayanagara.[141] This hill fort, 3,000 feet high, south of modern Anantpur, had been during the reign of Bukka I's son Vīra Virūpaṇṇa, also enlarged by Anaṅtarasa Oḍeyar, "the great Minister", and transformed into a military fortress.[142] An inscription praises this "God-given city", whose fortification no mortal "could possibly take."[143] In 1587-88 its fortifications, during the reign the King Raṅga Rāya, were repaired.[144]

The Fortress of Caṅdragiri

The next military refuge capital of the Vijayanagara emperors was Caṅdragiri

under Veṅkaṭapati Deva.[145] It is alleged have been founded by the Yādava king Immaḍi Narasiṁha in *circa* A.D. 1000 till it came under the control of king Sāḷuva Narasiṁha, who made it the store-house of his treasures.[146]

The next capital was Vellore, founded by Bommi Reḍḍi[147] and developed into a magnificent citadel where the Vijayanagara emperor remained till A.D 1639.[148] The emperor Veṅkaṭapati Rāya received here on 29th July, 1614, "four persons as Ambassadors" led by Floris and some Englishmen.[149]

Another such fortress was Jinji (Senji) in the Veṇbār-Nāḍu, a subdivision of Karikālakaṇṇa Vaḷavanāḍu in the Magada-*maṇḍaḷam*.[150] It was a strong fortress already in A.D. 1187 when the Hoysaḷa king Viṣṇuvardhana had conquered it along with other strong-holds.[151] An inscription relates how he destroyed the serpent of Cengiri (identified with Senji-Ginji by Rice)[152] and it was later known as Jinji. It continued as an important fortress during Vijayanagara times when it became the seat of Kṛṣṇa Nāyaka who received there Pimenta in A.D. 1597.[153] This fortress was greatly admired by foreigners as well as Indian contemporaries. In its centre was the palace of the Nāyaka, which was in itself a fort and round it grew the city. "We went thence to Ginji" observes Pimenta "the greatest citie we have seen in India and bigger than any in Portugal, Lisbon excepted."[154] That castle had round it a moat as had been the case with Vijayanagara. "In the midst thereof is a castle like a Citie, high-walled with great hewn stone and encompassed with a ditch full of water, in the middle of it is a Rocke framed into bulwarkes and Turrets and made impregnable"[155] Similarly the walls of the fort of Thanjāvūr too were built of hewn stone.[156] The castle of Jinji had its gates like those of Vijayanagara itself. "The next day the inner part of the Castle was showed to us, having no entrance but by the Gates which are perpetually guarded."[157]

The last refuge of the Vijayanagara emperors was the little town of Ikkeri (Keḷadi) which was also fortified though in a petty way, Pietro Della Valle, an eye-witness, visited it. He says: "The City is seated on a goodly plain, and, as we entered, we passed through three gates with small Forts and Ditches, and consequently three Inclosures; the first two of which were not walls, but made of very high Indian Canes, very thick and close planted, instead of a Wall, and are strong against Root and Horse in any case, hard to cut and not in danger of fire; besides that the Herbs which creep upon them, together with their own leaves, make a fair and great verdure and much shadow. The other Inclosure is a Wall but weak and inconsiderable. But having passed these three we passed all. Some say there are others within, belonging to the Citadel or Fort where the palace is, for Ikkeri is of good largeness . . ."[158]

A scrutiny of all these provincial fortresses reveals that they were from a military architectural view-point almost identical in structure. They had the following common features: first came the chief's or ruler's palace which was surrounded by a strong stone wall with one or two gates with bastions, usually two on either side of the principal gate in front of the royal residence. This was followed by not

more than three walls invariably of stone with two bastions with a large gate between and it was usually well guarded. The outer-most wall had always a moat which was hardly without water. This structural pattern, of almost ancient origin, was followed till the 17th century. Between these walls people lived in houses and there were streets with bazaars in them.

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CHAPTER FIVE

IMAGERY

THE Vijayanagara craftsman developed a school of imagery in which he included icons of deities, Śaivite, Vaiṣṇavite and Jaina, common people, kings and queens, nobles and animals and connected with their religious beliefs. In this category must be included the images of women who, as in the cases of men, should be distinguished as feminine deities, ordinary women, wives of nobles, dancing girls and of course queens.

Imagery of the Common People

Let us first take the cases of the common people as represented in their imagery. One comes across images of old men, a poor man talking to a seated noble, a horn-blower. These could also be classed as sculptures but exceptions can be made. For instance there is the image of a drummer, hewn from a single rock and attached to a pillar so as to make it double, a usual Vijayanagara practice in imagery as will be shown later, in the Acyuta Rāya temple at Vijayanagara itself. There he stands, slightly bent, absorbed yet perfectly natural. Supporting the huge drum on his right knee, which he is beating with a stick but its sounds are lost in the depths of eternity. Tall as any man living, though wrought of ashy granite, he is fully instinct with life. He has a tuft of hair in front but the proportion of his limbs, the poise of his form and the expression on his face are remarkable. The

sculptor has beautifully represented all the movements of his limbs, showing an unmistakable mastery of the human form, and rhythmic vitality characteristic of this period.

This practice of erecting single images, which was of early origin in the south, came into great vogue in the Vijayanagara period. Another such image chiselled out of a single rock or rather rough unyielding granite, can be seen at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and tradition associates it with Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya who is recorded to have erected a *maṇḍapa* in the vicinity of that temple. It is rather hazardous to identify it with that emperor definitely but it is certain that it belongs to the Vijayanagara school of imagery judging it from the typical characteristics of this art. It is, however, possible that this class of imagery in stone was an imitation of cast metal statues of copper or bronze, which were capable of being adorned with greater detail than these owing to the malleability of those metals. A similar monolithic statue was also found in the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple where I had seen it several years ago, but unlike the one at Tirupati, it was broken into three pieces probably by some Muslim vandal, after the defeat of 1565. The head is unluckily missing but, as this shrine was built by Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, most probably it represents that sovereign but this is only a conjecture for it cannot, in its present state, be identified. The figure shows the hands folded in prayer (*añjali*). Likewise in the second *prākāra* of Acyuta Rāya's temple lay another torso of another kingly personage with similarly joined hands and it may be again conjectured that it also probably represented that emperor, for he had built that shrine himself. He had also constructed another temple called the Paṭṭābhi Rāma shrine and in the lofty *maṇḍapa* in front of the temple was found a similar image, but its similarity to the Viṭṭhaḷasvāmi and Acyuta Rāya temples was too close to escape an inevitable comparison.

The Dvārapālas or Door-keepers

The temple doors were believed to be protected or rather guarded by two door keepers (*dvārapālas*). Among the many fine specimens of this type of icons are those of Raṅganātha near the Cakratīrtha tank at Tirupati, the intricately carved Cakrapūsa near it, the Pāṇḍuraṅga (*dvārapālas*) and other attendant figures scattered about in Tirupati. Some of the finest of such figures can be seen at Tāḍpatri from the *gopura* of the Rāmasvāmi temple near the river Tuṅgabhadrā. Occasionaly certain deities also were placed on the door jambs of temples as though to play the role of the door-keepers. One of such deities was the goddess Gaṅgā about whom more will be said later riding on the *makara*, the conventional crocodile. A superb specimen of this deity in this pose can be noticed at Tāḍpatri on entering the shrine.[1] This practice of keeping *dvārapālas* at the doors of temples was not a novel usage for the Vijayanagara emperors only followed earlier rulers like the Coḷa Kings Rājarāja and Rājendra in many of whose shrines there are many pairs of such colossal *dvārapālas*.

Religious Monoliths—Hindu

Among the Hindus, Jainas and Buddhists the devotees worshipped immense monoliths. After examining some typical Hindu monoliths, some Jaina colossi will be scrutinised but no Buddhist relic of such a type was found in Vijayanagara times for by then Buddhism had practically died out as a religion in that Hindu realm, while Jainism survived.

Among the Hindus the fashioning of such immense images was nothing new. It was already familiar to the Buddhists. While it is known that colossal Bauddha and Jaina monoliths were found in some of the districts of Tamil Nadu some of which are preserved in the Madras Museum, it has been suggested that this passion for erecting such immense statues possibly came from Śrī Laṅkā where colossal figures of Ānanda from Polonnarūva and similar huge figures of the Buddha exist.[2] There is little justification for accepting such a suggestion because colossi existed at Ajanta, Buddhist images at Bāmiyān, Jaina statues at Ellora and Jaina figures in Tuḷuva and at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa in Karnāṭaka. Kalhaṇa, the famous poet of the *Rājataraṅgiṇi* also refers to many such huge images of the Buddha and the Hindu deites in Śrīnagara during his days and earlier.[3] All these might well have served as models for the Vijayanagara craftsmen who also in the 15th and 16th centuries erected images of Hindu gods and the Jainas of their Bāhubalis.

Śaiva Deities

Among the Śaiva deities, which could be styled colossi, we may take up first the images of Śiva. At Śrīśailam there is a bronze of Śiva as Naṭarāja, one of the finest specimens of Vijayanagara art. It represents Śiva as the greatest master of dancing. It is said that he often danced in ecstasy on the burning ground with great joy, accompanied by enthralling music which he knew to perfection. The *Śaivāgamas* state that Śiva danced in 108 modes all of which are described by Bharata.[4] This was a favourite theme with South Indian craftsmen, who in different places depicted Śiva in his various *mudrās* of dancing. At Ellorā, Śiva's sculptures in his *kaṭisma* and *lalita* poses are remarkable works of art.[5]

But in this metallic image of Śiva at Śrīśailam, Śiva stands in a pose often adopted by South Indian craftsmen. According to the *uttama-daśa tāla* measurement, the front hand should be held in the *daṇḍa-hasta* or *gaja-hasta* pose across the body and the back left hand should carry *agni* (fire) either in a vessel or on the palm itself. In either case the *agni* should be at the end, middle or root of the middle finger. The front right hand should be held in the *abhaya* pose (*mudrā*), the top of the middle finger should be just touching the *hikka-sūtra*. On the forearm of this there should be the *sarpa-valaya* or the serpent-bangle, the back right hand should hold the drum (*ḍamaru*). The right leg should be slightly bent and placed on the

back of the *apasamārapuruṣa* and the knee should reach the *ñābji-sūtra*. The left leg should be lifted up and somewhat turned towards the right leg and kept across it. On Śiva's head there should be the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* (the knotted crown) adorned with flowers like a snake-jewelled ornament, a grinning human skull and the crescent moon tied on the left side. From this *jaṭā-mukuṭa* there should issue on either side five, six, seven or eleven *jaṭās*, standing either horizontally or in a circle. The body of Śiva should be adorned with chest band (*yajñopavīta unasūtra*) with rings on all fingers, excepting the middle one and anklets on the ankles. The face should be smiling. The chest should be pointed with saffron paste and the rest of his limbs smeared with ashes, while his garment should be made of the tiger's skin.[6]

To a great extent the Vijayanagara craftsmen closely followed the rules laid down in the *Aṁśumadbhedāgama*. There are two images of this type and the better of the two is taken up for consideration here. The modelling is superb. The front left hand is held just like an elephant's trunk with natural ease and the upper one clasps a flame of fire flaming on the palm. The upper right hand holds a typical Vijayanagara drum which will be described later more fully, while the front right hand represents the raised palm of protection (*abhaya-hasta*) and has a serpent coiled round the wrist. Its circumference is quite after the Śāstric injuction, being at least a fourth larger than that of the wrist on which it is worn and at the junction of the tail with the body of the snake, though these are shown apart, the hood rises. The right foot stands on the back of the dwarf Apasmāra, who holds a serpent in his hand and Śiva is represented as whirling swiftly on one leg. The right leg is slightly bent while the left one is beautifully raised across it. The feet are adorned with the *pāda-jalakas*. The *ūrṇasūtra* is left to fly quite naturally in the whirl of divine ecstasy and the girdle is three-fold as in most Vijayanagara types. The *yajño-pavīta* (sacred-thread) cannot be noticed nor is the tiger skin garment much discernible. Śiva is smiling and his *mukuṭa* (crown) is not in a circle but somewhat like the hood of a snake, profusely ornamented with flowers, jewels and a moon to the left with the Gaṅgā issuing from it. On his left shoulder is an upper garment to represent a tiger's skin or a very finely textured cotton cloth. On his left ear-lobe there is the *patra-kuṇḍala* or the leaf-ear-ring, and on his right ear the *makara* (conventional crocodile) *kuṇḍala*. To crown all this, there is a magnified orb or, as the *Śilparatna* calls it, the *prabhā-maṇḍala*,[7] supposed to represent probably the rays of the sun rather than symbolise the sacred rivers which flowed over Mahādeva's head.[8]

The dance of Śiva is considered to symbolise the motion of cosmic energy in creating, preserving and destroying the visible universe. This dance is believed to represent his five activities: of production, preservation, destruction, embodiment, release. These are separately thought to symbolise the activities of Brahma, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Maheśvara and Sadāśiva.[9] This symbolism is further explained by the *Unmai Vīlakkam* which claims that "creation arises from the drum, protection from the hand of hope, from fire proceeds destruction, while foot held aloft yields abso-

lution (*mukti*) or salvation. The fourth hand at times points to this, the refuge of the Soul.[10]

It is wonderful how beautifully the Vijayanagara sculptor has represented all the movements of the limbs. But here, in spite of all the ornamental details, the particulars of the human physiognomy, as western critics would demand them, are absent. But this was not from a lack of ability or knowledge but in accordance with the requirements of the *Śilpa Śāstras.* This figure shows an unmistakable mastery of the human form and immense technical skill. The design is almost perfect and the entire image is permeated with a sublime and rhythmic vitality characteristic of this period.

At Śrīśailam, in the Mallikārjuna temple, Śiva assumes the form of Bhujaṅga Lalita which is merely another form of Naṭarāja. At the extreme end of this image is Nandi standing in a human form and beating a drum (*ḍamaru*). Next comes Gaurī with a long *tambūr*-like instrument and next to her stands the three-faced Brahma clashing the cymbals while in the centre a six-handed Śiva dances and to his left is Viṣṇu playing on a small drum. This representation at Śrīśailam is, in a way, unique. It has no great artistic merit but the imagery is graceful and elegant. It displays a liveliness, an uncommon and unconscious humour and a strange simplicity attracting attention.[11]

There is a metal image of Śiva and Pārvatī with Somaskanda in their midst. It is an exellent piece, bearing splendid testimony to the skill and power of Vijayanagara craftsmen.[12] Śiva is also known as the Lord of Prosperity, the most auspicious and in fact as the creator of good omens and hence called Śivatati or Śivankara. A Vijayanagara inscription depicts his qualities of such auspiciousness in the following attributes: his right and left eyes, respectively, send forth rain and sustain plants, his eye on his forehead indicates his supremacy of all daedal affluence, his chariot, the inclusion of all jewellery and hence known as Śrīparvata.[13] Śiva is also considered the most favourable destroyer of all evil, his dance itself is believed to have this characteristic and hence its power as in the case of Bharata, another master of dancing and this capacity is explained in the *Viṣṇuaharmottara.*[14] It may be remembered here that Śiva's son Gaṇapati is essentially known and worshipped as Vighneśvara, the Great Remover of all Obstacles. His iconograhic role in Vijayanagara art will be dealt with presently.

In Vijayanagara iconography Śiva is represented in a number of poses like the *ūrdhvatāṇḍavān*, the *ūrdhvajānu*, the *lalāṭatilaka* and another in which he is getting ready for his dancing (*āharya*).

The Urdhvatāṇḍavān Representations of the 14th Century

At Puṣpagiri, Āndhra Pradesh, there are two representations of Śiva: one showing him in the *ūrdhvatāṇḍavān* pose and the other depicting him as getting ready for his dance. In the *ūrdhvatāṇḍavān* pose, "echoing a reversal of the *karaṇa nikuñcita*",[15]

his left hand in the *karihasta* (*gaja-hasta*) and the right in the *abhaya-hasta*, indicating assurance of safety, the other hands carrying the emblems of the trident (*śūla*), drum (*ḍamaru*), serpent (*nāga*) and so forth.

In the same temple there is another icon of Śiva showing him as getting ready for his dance. He is ornamenting himself by putting the ear-ring (*kuṇḍala*) with both his frontal hands and with his front lower ones, fitting his ankle with little tinkling bells (*kiṅkiṇi*). This form of Śiva is in the pose of decoration (*āharya*).

Śiva as Dancer at Lepākṣi (16th Century)

In the *nāṭyamaṇḍapa* at Lepākṣi of the Vīrabhadra temple Śiva is represented in the *ūrdhvajānu* pose. Here he is the main dancer with his divine aides. Brahma is seen besides him keeping time showing either clapping his hands or the cymbals, Indra playing on the flute, Rambhā dancing in accompaniment, Tumbūru, strumming some stringed instrument, Sarasvatī, busy with the *vīṇā*. Śiva is holding in his upper hands the drum (*ḍamaru*), and the fire (*agni*), while of the lower front hands, one is showing the *abhaya* while the other resting as though on a knee tending towards *laṭa* or *doḷa*, while Śiva is dancing on the *apasmāra*—not a normal type of dancing.[16]

In the 17th century we have a fine specimen of the *lalāṭatilaka* in which Śiva is seen raising his right foot up to his forehead. This image is at Perūr near Coimbatore, Tamil Nāḍu, in a *maṇḍapa* where on each pillar such an icon is shown. In this image Śiva has sixteen arms, specially portrayed, playing on the drum as he dances, holding in each hand one of his usual symbols. The old woman Karaikālammaiyār is lying virtually at his feet, as though resting on the palm of her right hand and placing her left one on the earth. Śiva, while dancing has two assistants, Skanda (Subrahmaṇya) on his left keeping time, as in a previous case, either with his palms or with cymbals, and on his right stands Brahma playing on the drum (*ḍamaru*).[17]

An ivory carving of the 17th century, pertaining to Tirumala Nāyaka's reign, shows Śiva in the *ūrdhvatāṇḍava* pose, with Viṣṇu and Brahma on either side, the Devī watching the dance of Śiva, Tumbūru raising one of his hands in adoration of Śiva while holding the *vīṇā* with the other. A sage, probably Bhārati, stands wrapt in wonder, closing his eyes and clasping hands.[18]

Gaṇapati-Gajānana-Vighneśvara

The eldest son of Śiva and Pārvatī was Gaṇeśa, also known as Gaṇapati or in the Tamil Nāḍu as Pullayyar. As his name indicates he was the chief of the Śaiva *gaṇas*. He is a very prominent deity in the Hindu pantheon, invoked by all Hindus excepting the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas at the beginning of every religious function. He has been known to exist in fifty-one forms according to the *Śāradātilaka*[19] in which each form has its own attributes and of these the *Uchchiṣṭha* Gaṇapati is found at

Vijayanagara. The *Kriyākarmadyoti* states that this standing image should carry in its hands a lotus flower, a pomegranate, a *vīṇā* some quantity of paddy and an *akshamālā*. The paddy sheaf and those flowers suggest the agricultural associations of this deity. His other associations with agriculture is his vehicle the rat, a symbol believed to stand for a priapean emblem and according to Foucher "it is more than probable that the rat evokes the well-filled granary where it is always an assiduous guest." Another view is that this deity entered the Brahmanical pantheon when Tāntrism was exerting its influence over many Indian religions, "reversing the trends of progressive thought, thereby inducing many of the deities to reappear in their therianthropomorphic forms."[20] These views appear rather far-fetched and conjectural to find any reasonable acceptance.

The *Mantramahārṇava* prescribes that with the arrow, the bow, the noose and trident (*bāṇa*, *dhanus*, *pāśa*, and *aṅkuśa*) the image of Gaṇeśa should be seated in the *padmāsana* pose with a nude *devī* on his lap.[21]

There are some images of Gaṇapati at Vijayanagara and elsewhere in that empire. In one image of Gaṇapati, he is seated with an enormous stomach which is tied up with a snake. The *Paurāṇic* explanation of this is that once when Gaṇapati was riding on his vehicle (*vāhana*) the rat, he fell down owing to the intervention of a snake and broke his stomach but that god calmly took up that reptile and tied it round his injured stomach.[22] This image appears to have had both its tusks but one of it is broken and the deity holds it in his right hand. The legend goes that he flung one of those tusks at the moon (Caṅdra) who, in company with his twenty-seven starry consorts, burst out into laughter at the god's misfortune.[23] As his left arm is broken by some Muslim iconoclast in his frenzy, it cannot be hazarded today to determine what he must have had in that hand. In his second left hand he has an ear of paddy (as though in conformity with classical injunctions) and in his second right hand, a small club. This image is fairly well ornamented in the classical vein. His rat vehicle is carved in a separate piece of stone and set up in front of him. Such an arrangement can also be seen occasionally in other images.

There is a similar monolith nick-named in one case the Sāsiva Kallu or the Mustard Seed Gaṇeśa on the slope of the Hemakūṭa Hill and near it is another Gaṇeśa image known as the Gram-stone Gaṇeśa or the Kaḍale Kallu Gaṇapati. The Sāsiva Kallu image, nearly 2.4 metres high, is seated in a spacious open *maṇḍapa* which has plain and rough pillars. In his front right hands he holds the trident (*aṅkuśa*) and the broken tusk, while the upper left one clasps a looped noose (*pāśa*). The vandals have broken the lower left hand and also the trunk.

The other Gaṇeśa image is the Kaḍale Kallu which represents that deity as huge, seated, nearly 4.5 metres high and is wrought from a massive local boulder. That image too is shrined in a large temple with a charming open pillared *maṇḍapa* (*mukha maṇḍapa*) in front. The pillars are high, slim and graceful in the typical cubical ornate Vijayanagara style with the *puṣpabodigai* corbels of an early period.

This image is about ten feet in height and is smaller than the Sāsiva Kallu Gaṇeśa image by nearly two feet.[24] The Sāsiva Kallu image, an interesting piece of art, compares favourably with southern counterparts and even with a Javanese prototype cited by Havell.[25]

These images must have belonged to the period of the first Vijayanagara Dynasty, the Saṅgama, during whose regime Śaivism prevailed. Sometimes special installations of this popular deity took place. In *śaka* 1332 one Lakshmīdhara *Daṇḍanāyaka* erected a temple in the cave of the Malaya Parvata Hill near Paṁpāpura and installed there an image of Gaṇeśa, presenting it with jewels, furniture and paddy fields as free gifts.[26] Unfortunately that icon does not seem to have survived, being either broken or stolen.

At Lepākshi on the Mysore-Andhra Pradesh border, seven miles from Hindupur, Anantapur district, among the grand boulders, in the blazing sun, is an immense icon of Vighneśvara (Gaṇeśa) with his bedraggled vehicle (*vāhana*) the rat. Unlike many other images of this deity, this image is of great artistic merit and the rat vehicle is larger than its counterpart in real life. In this case, though the god Gaṇeśa is normally gay and lively, is irate apparently annoyed with the noon (Caṅdra) who had, as stated earlier, impertinently laughed at him when he had tripped down while returning after a plentiful feast. In this case also Gaṇeśa has pulled out one of his tusks which he is about to hurl at Caṅdra. This image is, from an artistic angle, a fine piece of imagery.

At Perūr in the 17th century Gaṇeśa is shown as dancing on the rat (*mūṣika*), thumping his feet on its back, as Śiva is sometimes depicted, depicting as short, with eight arms, his trunk vertically curled. This is a very interesting piece of imagery.[27]

Such an image of Gaṇeśa is apparently in imitation of a similar one of Śiva, of course, with slight changes but the chief motif is identical. Such an icon can be seen at Perūr and has been ascribed to the 17th century. This shows Śiva as the Gajatāṇḍavamūrti in which he has raised one of his legs, slightly bent, and he has eight arms and the elephant hide is fashioned to look like a halo around him. The elephant's head is below his foot which he tramples almost replacing Apasmāra.[28] In the Perūr statue cited earlier Gajānana also has eight hands and he too is dancing on his poor vehicle the rat (*mūṣika*). In such cases Śiva is also represented as dancing on his vehicle the *naṅdi*. As for the number of Śiva's arms, we have already noticed in the *lalāṭa tilaka* statue of Śiva cited earlier that Śiva is depicted with sixteen arms: so this is only a variation of such a number. The portrayal of so many arms or faces for that matter must have been to symbolise power of either the hand or the mind.

Vīrabhadra

Another image associated with Śiva is that of Vīrabhadra who, according to

legend, appeared from the drops of Śiva's brow while he was suffering from the harm wrought on him by his father-in-law Dakṣa. Vīrabhdra compelled Dakṣa to stop his sacrifice, cut off his head and flung it into the fire.[29]

At Lepākṣi there is a huge statue of Vīrabhadra, six feet in height with sweeping curves of his form. There is a bend in his waist, he has four arms, and holds in each a sword (*khaḍga*), a bow (*dhanus*), arrow (*bāṇa*) and shield (*kheṭaka*, cf. Tamil *keḍayam* or *parisāi*),[30] wearing a garland of skulls, with a human head (*kapāla*) at his feet and the sacrifice which he had stopped. The *kapāla* is surely that of Dakṣa, whose head he had cut off and thrown into the fire. In this image of Vīrabhadra, Dakṣa is not shown with his goat's head because that event took place later when, after seeing her father Dakṣa's head had been cut and thrown into the fire by Vīrabhadra, Pārvatī prayed to her husband Śiva to restore her father's head and, as it had been burnt by then in the fire, he had it replaced with that of a ram. In this image of Vīrabhadra, his *jaṭā-mukuṭa* is profusely ornamented.

In the capital itself there is a temple known after Vīrabhadra himself called the Uddhaṇa Vīrabhadra temple, nearly half a kilometre from the large underground temple further north. Here worship is still carried on and the officiating priests are Liṅgāyats. Here there is a large Vīrabhadra statue 3 6 m. high, with four arms holding in each arm, the arrow, sword, bow and shield as in the previous case cited already. In this case a small image of Dakṣa stands to Vīrabhadra's right, indicating that he had been revived by then. In Karnāṭaka Vīrabhadra was called Muḍu Vīraṇṇa and this temple was raised for his worship in A.D. 1545.[31] This was not an innovation in Vijayanagara times for his worship was known much earlier in the Tamil Nāḍu as can be seen from his representation in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñci where it appears in the panel 16th from the east and on the southern side of the court.[32]

Some Emblems of Śiva

Among the emblems Śiva we may cite a few, namely, the *liṅga* (phallus), the snake and the *nandi* (bull).

At Vijayanagara itself, near the Narasiṁha image which will be described presently, exists a little Śiva temple. It has within it an immense *liṅga* (phallus) nearly 3 m. in height and its base is always in the water there. At Lepākṣi there is a huge *liṅga* so common in Śaiva shrines. The snake (*nāga*) is invariably represented in images associated with Śiva. At Lepākṣi one of the huge images attracting attention is that of a hooded Nāga fifteen feet in height, a cover to the familiar Śaivite *liṅga* (phallus). This immense icon may be well be called a stone emblem. The snake as a symbol is believed to symbolise unpredictability, serenity, and sensuality. Like the snake (*nāga*) the bull is claimed to represent or symbolise the complimentary aspect of the Cosmic Power. Another colossal monolith at Lepkāṣi is a *nandi* there called locally Basavayya out of respect to Śiva's *vāhana* (vehicle)

and it is the greatest local attraction there. It is 15 feet in height, 22 feet in length larger than its prototypes on Caṅḍi Hill in Mysore, Thanjāvūr, Rāmeśvaram and Suchīṅdram. In the present case at Lepākṣi, the *naṅdi* has distinct artistic characteristics, among which the most important are its perfect proportions and the marvellous grain of the granite.

Śaivite Imagery—Goddesses

We may now turn to some select specimens of Śaivite goddesses whose images attract the attention of the student of Vijayanagara art.

There are few single large images of Śiva's consort Pārvatī by herself for she is always associated with her divine husband, Śiva. Next to the Mukti Nārāyaṇa temple in Vijayanagara (Hampi) stands the Tārakeśvarī shrine containing a little image of Śiva with Pārvatī sitting on his lap. There were shrines exclusively devoted to Pārvatī's worship. In the northern corridor of the shrine dedicated to the great anchorite Vidyāraṇya, and ascribed to Harihara II (1377-1404) two shrines survive: one is to Pārvatī and the other to Bhuvaneśvarī, and both have been assigned to the 12th century.[33] Some evidence would be necessary other than merely stylistic aspects to accept this date.

Mahiṣāsuramardinī

Among the various deities associated with Śiva, Mahiṣāsuramardinī is one. She is a form of Durgā,[34] the *śakti* of Śiva himself.[35] She is depicted in various forms with varying numbers of arms. She is also known as the Devī. The Sarasvatī shrine at Vijayanagara encloses a small but graceful image of this deity with two arms, playing on a *vīṇā*, crowned by an ornamented halo (*prabhāvaḷi*) with pierced stone-work. The image is of black stone. The western corridor of this temple has another black-stone image of a Mahiṣāsuramardinī with six arms. It is considerably worn out and little can be made of its artistic merit. In the Amman shrine of the Anaṅtaśayanam Guḍi was also installed a huge black stone image of the Devī (1.5m. tall) with four arms. One of the temples to the north of the Virūpākṣa temple has an impressive image of the Devī, standing, with eight arms (1.92 m. tall), smiling, adorned with a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, a long trident (*śūla*) with which she is striking the prostrate demon Mahiṣāsura, placing her right foot on its back and placing her right one firmly on the earth. Her mount the lion (*siṁha*) is to her right on the ground, while the Mahiṣāsura is looking at her. In her right front hands she is holding a round wheel (*cakra*), an arrow, (*bāṇa*) *khaḍga* (sword) and a long spear (*śūla*), by which she has struck the Mahiṣāsura. She is adorned with large earrings (*kuṇḍala*). An immense halo (*toraṇa*) surrounds this image.

There is another large image of Durgā at Vijayanagara, with ten hands. In her right front hand she holds an excellent broad sword seen among the Vijayanagara

soldiers. Her second hand carries a dagger, the third, a burning torch and the fourth, and the fifth, a fine battle-axe. In the first left hand she clasps a peculiar hook-shaped sword, the second a small circular shield which has two rings for holding it, the third has a crescent, the fourth, a bow and the fifth, a mace. She wears a many-girdled crown (*kirīṭa*) and has her hair dressed in a halo-like fashion. Her knees are girt round with a chain of human skulls, and she wears a striped garment with anklets and wrist-lets as well. She has also an ornamented girdle. There is a terrible sternness in her face and her whole aspect is one of magnificent ferocity. It is a remarkable piece of imagery.

At Lepākṣi also there is an immense, bizarre, larger than life-size image of Durgā, one of the most evocative icons of that deity ever attempted. There is a local tradition there that children are advised not to approach it lest it should affect them adversely.

Kāli

There is no doubt that Kāli worship prevailed in Vijayanagara. An inscription of *śaka* 1481 of the reign of Sadāśiva Rāya mentions some smiths who were worshippers of Kāli.[36] The traveller Paes obviously refers to Kāli worship when he says "Then the king goes again to where the idol is and as soon as he is inside they lift the curtains of the room, which are like the purdahs of a tent and the king sits himself where these are and they lift them all. Thence he witnesses the slaughter of twenty-four buffaloes and a hundred and fifty sheep, with which a sacrifice is made to that idol; you must know that they cut off the heads of these buffaloes and sheep at one blow with certain large sickles which are wielded by a man who has charge of this slaughter; they are so sure of hand that not one blow misses."[37] Kāli worship must have prevailed in the provinces of the empire. In the great temple of Madurai between the flag-staff are four images of Śiva as the dancer and the dreadful Kāli, cut out from a single block of stone. "They have been executed with great spirit and their numerous limbs decked with elaborate ornaments making them the greatest triumph of technical skill in stone cutting found within temple walls."[38] At Śrīśailam too there are four sculptures depicting Śiva and Kāli dancing together.[39]

Vaiṣṇava Imagery—Gods

Several images of the Vaiṣṇava faith are found in Vijayanagara and its cities. One of the most prominent is that of the immense Narasiṁha about 6.7 metres in height standing in an exclusive enclosure in the capital itself. It has been called Narasiṁha or Ugra Narasiṁha and has been ascribed to the year 1528, namely, two years prior to the demise of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya. This is an enormous statue of Viṣṇu in his incarnation (*avatāra*) of Ugra Narasṁha or the Man Lion, a form which he assumed in

response to the assertion of Prahlāda to his father Hiraṇyakaśyapa that God is everywhere. When the latter inquired "Is he then in this pillar?" pointing to a pillar in the palace, the devout Prahlāda replied "Even there!" Then Hiraṇyakaśyapa kicked that pillar and out of it emerged Ugra Narasiṁha, who seized the haughty Hiraṇyakaśyapa and placing him on his lap tore him to pieces. This episode is alluded to in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*[40] disclosing its antiquity. This monolith is hewn out of a single rock, a granite boulder, lying near the south-western angle of the Kṛṣṇasvāmi temple. Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya made an endowment to it in 1528 in the temple of Lakshmī Narasiṁha which he had built.[41] This image was graced with a huge necklace, of several strands, the nature of whose precious stones cannot be determined. A little below it is a necklace of round beads evidently representing precious gems, whose nature cannot be identified. Behind this immense statue is the outspread hood of a huge serpent (*nāga*) with six hoods which shelter the deity, emerging as though from behind its neck upwards. On the entire frame, on each side of which appear certain symbols but, owing to the vicissitude of time, the ravages of nature and the vandalism of Muslim invaders, they have become indistinguishable. It is surprising, however, that this immense granite figure, which wears the familiar *kullāyi* cap of the Vijayanagara people, hardly attracted the notice of any foreign visitor who had visited the capital during its construction or immediately after it. In the holocaust following the disastrous battle of 1565 the Muslim marauders did their best to mutilate this grand statue and owing to its desecration, what lay on its thighs cannot be made out.

This image is not in conformity with *śāstric* or classical injuctions. No doubt the ferocity and the obvious posture of this image indicate that it is meant to represent Ugra Narasiṁha tearing the bowls of the demon Hiraṇyakaśyapa. This Ugra Narasiṁha is canopied by a seven-hooded *nāga* (serpent), a Śaivite symbol, super-imposed by a *kīrti-mukha* which will be dealt with later. It has also a fine *prabhāvalī* around it. It has been said that the Yānaka Narasiṁha should have four arms and over him should be installed a five-hooded Ādiśeṣa.[42] But the Vijayanagara image has only two hands and its crowning Nāga has seven hoods. The colossal image nevertheless has been finely conceived to depict in sheer power an outstanding symbol of titanic energy, exquisitely spiritualised and magnificently wrought so as to represent probably the destruction of darkness by light.

Rāma Dāśarathi

There is no outstanding image of Rāma Dāśarathi in Vijayanagara art but there are shrines dedicated to him. The Hazārarāma temple, though initially dedicated to Viṣṇu in the *avatāra* of Rāma, has in its sanctum no image, but its walls are decorated with finely sculptured incidents from the *Rāmāyaṇa* pertaining to the hoary Kiṣkindha-Kṣetra. Then there are the Paṭṭābhirāma and the Kodaṇḍarāma temples. In the latter shrine, the rectangular sanctum (*garbhagṛha*) has a

group of the holy trinity Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, standing and 4.5 metres in height. They are carved in high relief on a local granite. Again, in the Mālyavanta Raghunātha temple on the Mālyavanta hill, the *garbhagṛha* and the *antarāḷa* walls are linked to a huge local boulder, which bear the images of Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, with Hanumān kneeling before Rāma, whose right hand is placed on his chest with his fingers turned inside.

Hanumān

In Vijayanagara itself exists a colossal image of Rāma's friend and ally Hanumān in the dilapidated shrine of the Yantroddhāraka (within a circular device) and from external evidence belongs to the Vijayanagara period of architecture. In the Raṅga temple outside the south-east corner of the so-called Zenāna Enclosure within the *ardha-maṇḍapa* a huge slab contains an image of Hanumān about 2.7 metres in height. At the back of the Prasanna Virūpākṣa temple is a little chamber enshrining an image of Āñjaneya 3.6 metres in height, locally called the Prasanna Āñjaneya temple.

At Penukoṇḍa there is a much revered image of Hanumān,[43] which very much resembles the one in the Yantroddhāraka temple at Vijayanagara itself. It is almost as tall as its prototype at the capital. It is claimed that Hanumān is represented in three postures. In shrines exclusively dedicated to him, as in the Raṅga temple, he is pictured as heroic. He is also depicted as gigantic, fierce, and immensely powerful. He appears to be the very personification of supreme strength. He also stands erect with his long tail raised and curled above his head, with a large dagger at his waist and a tassel hanging down his waist. He has a Vaiṣṇavite caste-mark on his brow, two large *upagrīvas* and the frontal jewel *hṛnmālā*. He has a belt for his chest also, his girdle, two-folded, is fully jewelled, with a leaf-shaped tassel trailing on his left thigh. He is standing on the earth, with the left foot forward and his right one upraised as though ready to strike, the tip of his tongue peeping out. This image is well conceived, expressing in sheer volume an immensity of titanic energy and a concrete expression of Herculean or Himālayan force and depicting a sublime magnificance.

Garuḍa

There is a notable image of Garuḍa at Vijayanagara, but depicted as a mortal, with his typical wings and wearing a crown. He is carrying Viṣṇu in his hands, as he is the latter's vehicle (*vāhana*). Viṣṇu is seated here on his swift-footed vehicle, displaying the *abhaya mudrā*. This representation is an interesting piece of art.

Garuḍa is also met with in other places. In the Raghunātha temple at lower Udayagiri, on each side of the sanctum entrance on the right is a figure of Garuḍa: large and carved in low relief. Its upper part, however, represents the head and

breasts of a woman and but for its outspread wings, it might be mistaken for a dancing girl.[44] Sometimes on coins, too, as on a Vijayanagara copper coin, Garuḍa can be seen, kneeling with his face to the left.[45] He is also depicted in shrines in another pose. In the Caṇḍikeśvara or Caṇḍeśvara temple, opposite the Uddhaṇa Vīrabhadra temple, the *garbhagṛha* has on the *pīṭha* (pedestal) an image of Garuḍa in the prayer (*añjali*) posture.

Kṛṣṇa

There is the famous Kṛṣṇa temple in Vijayanagara to the north of the Ugra Narasiṁha statue, wherein is an inscription dated 1513 recording that the emperor Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya had brought from a shrine in Udayagiri an image of Śrī Kṛṣṇa which he had installed in the *maṇḍapa* there, but unfortunately that image is missing. Still this temple has many sculptures of Kṛṣṇa's activities. This Kṛṣṇa *līlā* is also portrayed in a ruined *maṇḍapa* next to the Raṅga temple mentioned already.

Viṭṭhala

In the finest temple of Vijayanagara, Viṭṭhala was worshipped as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu and that is the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple which must have been certainly completed because literary and epigraphic evidence shows that worship, which is never made in an incomplete temple, was done there till the unfortunate battle of 1565. The *garbhagṛha*, being now empty, no trace is now left of the image of Viṭṭhalasvāmi, for there now only two *pīṭhas* (pedestals) are left without their occupants.

Viṣṇu's Symbols

Foot-prints supposed to represent Viṣṇu are worshipped in shrines dedicated to him. In Vijayanagara on the right hand side of Sāsiva Kallu Gaṇeśa temple, there is a small shrine in which a chamber has two foot-prints with an encircling serpent (*nāga*), usually known as Viṣṇupāda. Such foot-prints are found in many spots along the banks of the river Tuṅgabhadrā.

Aṣṭadikpālas: Guardians of the Eight Quarters

Another group of memorable images exists at Lepākṣi in a *maṇḍapa* called after them. This structure has been ascribed to nobles Vīraṇṇa and Virūpaṇṇa whose constant fear of the emperors Acyuta Rāya (1530-42) and Sadāśiva (1542-67) and paucity of funds compelled them to leave the structure incomplete. The tradition is that such a crisis was brought about by those two nobles by utilising Government funds for building this Aṣṭadikpāla group and the Lepākṣi temple without any authority. The eight fine images are standing there, life-size, between the

pedestal (*aśvapāda*) and the upper flowering corbel (*puṣpa-boḍigai*) seem to anticipate the ten statues of the Nāyakas at Madurai. The eight guardians of the quarters are Indra-East, Agni-South-East, Yama-South, Sūrya-South-West, Varuṇa-West, Vāyu-North-West, Kubera-North, and Soma-North-East. Sometimes Nairṛta is substituted for Sūrya and Pṛthvī or Śiva in his Īśāna form is also called Soma. Each has an elephant as his vehicle (*vāhana*) called Lokapāla but these are absent in this group at Lepākṣi.

Metal Imagery—Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya and his two Queens

Well-known are the images of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya and his two queens Tirumalāṁbā and Nāgalāṁbā found at Tirupati. He is clad in his *kullāyi* cap which has two tassels in front, wearing two necklaces, ear-rings, two arm-lets with a *nāgabaṅdha* motif, rings on two or three fingers and a three-banded waist-band with metal supports and flower design in the centre. He has anklets on both his ankles, an adornment repeated in the cases of all the ten Nāyakas at Madurai in the Pudu Maṅṭapam. Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya wears a short skirt reaching up to his ankles. His two queens, flanking him on either side, wear identical ornaments and costumes: three armlets, four bangles on each hand, rings on their fingers (number not clearly discernible), a bodice covering their breasts, and a waist-band of five strands, studded with three precious stones in the centre of each band. All the three have no foot wear, which was well-known in Vijayanagara.[46] There survives a similar image of Sadāśiva Rāya. Referring to the votive images of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya and his two queens, Geotz patronisingly observed that "though lacking the elegant ease and beauty of the Coḷa-Pāṇḍya works, they at least have dignity and decorative beauty"[47]. Geotz's remarks have little edge for each piece of art is to be judged on its own merits and not by fruitless comparison with other works of art with which they have little relation. In the present case these images have no connection with either Coḷa or Pāṇḍyan bronzes. One has to bear in mind the symmetry of the figures, their technique and finish, the expression and the general impression they create by contemporary or even modern standards. As these images now stand, they are excellent pieces of art and they may be compared with the eye-witness account of a visitor like Paes. In 1520-22 he saw the emperor Kṛṣṇa Deva face to face and he saw him thus: "The king was clothed in certain white clothes embroidered with many roses in gold and with a *pateca* (a necklace) on his neck of very great value and on his head he had a cap of brocade in fashion like a Galician helmet, covered with a fine stuff, all of fine silk and he was bare-footed."[48] By this comparison the images of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya hardly suffer in aesthetic values or artistic merits.

The Ten Statues in the Pudu Maṅṭapam at Madurai

Perhaps the finest specimens of monoliths in the Vijayanagara tradition are the

ten images of the ten Nāyakas in the Pudu Maṅṭapam at Madurai. All of them were erected by the notable Tirumala Nāyaka (*c.* 1623-59).[49] These may be taken up for consideration seriatim as they stand there even today. Every statue has above it an inscription indicating who it was and the date when it was erected there. Heras's chronology in respect of these images cannot be accepted as it is at variance with facts,[50] which have been set forth by others.[51]

Viśvanātha Nāyaka (1529-64)

The image of this Nāyaka is life-size, its upper part being bare, and he wears a *dhoti* (*veṭṭi*), revealing the shape of his limbs and he has also a waist-belt (*paṭṭa*). A richly carved necklace graces his neck, valuable gemmed rings adorn his fingers, wrists and elbows and ear-rings, stuck with precious stones, are on his ears. In his waist-belt to his right is a dagger of the Vijayanagara type and it appears in some cases among these Nāyaka images to the left. Its place to the right would have been appropriate and natural for, in cases of any emergency in the case of living persons, it could be more easily pulled out from the right than from the left. He wears a *kullāyi* about whose origin and usage more will be said later when dealing with jewellery. He has a Vaiṣṇava caste-mark on his forehead and his hands are clasped in the Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya tradition in adoration (*añjali mudrā*). This *mudrā* has been interpreted perhaps wilh justification as symbolising the spirit of dedication of service to the magnificent empire whose titular deity was the Lord Virūpākṣa on whose behalf and with the highest sense of responsibility, the ruler carried on the affairs of government for the welfare of the people.[52] Such a pose is found, apart from that of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, also in the images of Veṅkaṭapati, and those of the Setupatis in the temple corridors at Rāmeśwaram. This is a special feature of bronzes and monoliths of rulers of Vijayanagara and even of their nobles. In the image of Irugappa, the general and minister of the emperor Bukka II (1485-1506) seen in the Saṅgīta *Maṇḍapam* at Lepākṣi, which he had caused to be built in A.D. 1387-88,[53] he is seen in this pose of worship or adoration.[54] The inscription above this Nāyaka image reveals that he was "first installed" as the successor by the old and childless Caṅdra Śekhara Pāṇḍya,[55] and this appointment was later confirmed by the then Vijayanagara emperor Sadāśiva Rāya (1542-67).[56] At both his sides stand women: two in this case evidently his queens, one of whom is called in the Kṛṣṇapuram plates as the "virtuous" Nāgammā. She wears a *sāri* draped up to her ankles and is adorned with a jewelled waist-band. There is another woman to his right but her identity cannot be satisfactorily established.

Second Statue: Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka

This image is also life-size, showing him to be more corpulent than his father, Viśvanātha Nāyaka and, as his form reveals, he must have been an immense

personality. His stomach is seen protruding from his waist-band of three strands. In this case there should have been anklets on both his legs whereas only one is visible as in the case of Viśvanātha. He too stands in the typical *añjali mudrā* (hands folded), wearing the Vijayanagara *kullāyi* cap. This statue is placed slightly lower than that of his father and in this case also there are two women: one to his right probably his wife and a smaller one, to her right, holding a fan, suggesting her status, not necessarily that of a courtesan but of an attendant. One of his wives was called Lakṣmammā[57] or Lakṣmyāmbikā,[58] a variation of that former name.

Third Statue: Viśvanātha II or Vīrappa

This statue depicts Viśvanātha II as a lean person but he is called in the inscription above him as Kṛṣṇappa and this has been considered "probably misplaced for we know that Kṛṣṇappa's successor was Viśvanātha II,"[59] but, according to Satyanātha Aiyar the successor of Kṛṣṇappa was Vīrappa.[60] There is little to distinguish this image from an artistic point of view.

Fourth Statue: Periya Kṛṣṇappa or Vīrappa

This statue of the fourth Nāyaka is in the typical Nāyaka tradition. While he is called in the *Pāṇḍya Chronicle*, Vīrappa and Kṛṣṇappa[61] in the grant on Viśvanātha statue, he is also regally known as Vīrabhūpati in the Vellaṅguḍi grant of Veṅkaṭa I.[62] This statue is placed a little lower than the preceding one, revealing his bulky frame, strong legs, wearing the typical *kullāyi* cap, with a dagger to his right in his waist-band. He is comparatively shorter than his predecessors and his face is painted dark to indicate his real complexion while his elder brother is painted yellow, suggestting a lightly slighter colour. Behind him are two women, one to his right being taller than one near her. As they have nothing in their hands like fans or similar insignia of servility, and are quite well dressed, ornamented and stand with hands folded in the traditional manner, a symbol of royalty and nobility, they may be taken to have been his wives, one of whom, (in this case to his right) was called Tirumalāmbā.[63]

Fifth Statue: Liṅgamma Nāyaka ?[64]

This Nāyaka as Liṅgappa Nāyaka is not mentioned in the list of Madurai chieftains[65] but his name appears in an inscription of Kumāra Kṛṣṇappa II.[66] This image discloses that he must have been a normal person, but slimmer than his father and slightly stouter than his uncle Viśvanātha II. He too wears the typical *kullāyi* cap, with a dagger stuck to his right in his waist-band or girdle and he also wears anklets. Behind him are two women of different sizes: one on his left being very small while the other to his right is slightly bigger. Whether they were his queens or not cannot be determined and their names also are unknown.

Sixth Statue: *Biśvama-Viśiappa-Viśvappa*

Viśvappa must have been his real name as it is common in Karnāṭaka though not in the Tamil Nāḍu. His name is mentioned in the inscription above him but it does not appear in the succession list. He is represented in this statue as very corpulent like some of his ancestors but he is tall and well-shaped. He too wears the *kullāyi* on his head like the one donned by Viśvanātha Nāyaka but it is of a medium size. His complexion, painted dark, could not have been fair. He too has a dagger stuck to his left in his waist-belt. Behind him stand two women, one taller than the other. The one near him was probably his wife but little is known about her. They are both dressed like all the previous women nearhis predecessors.

Eighth Statue: *Muttu Kṛṣṇappa*

He is the fifth ruler in Satyanatha Aiyar's list of Madurai rulers[67] and is called in an inscription the son of Viśvappa Nāyaka.[68] In this image his features are almost identical with those of Viśvappa, his complexion painted very dark (perhaps he was so in real life) but he is shorter than his father. He stands rather inclined to his right suggesting lameness, his right leg being shorter than his left. As in the cases of his predecessors two ladies stand near him: one to his left and another to his right. Perhaps they too were his wives but little is known about them. Their costume in this case is identical with that worn by similar women in the preceding cases.

Ninth Statue: *Muttu Vīrappa Nāyaka*

He is the sixth in the rulers' list[69] but his name is Muttu Vīrappa in the inscription over him. Fairer than his predecessor, he is depicted as corpulent, his hips stouter than those of any of his predecessors or his successor. His *kullāyi* is slightly inclined to his left, his waist belt narrower than those of others. He wears a finely embroidered *dhoti* (*veṭṭi*) draping down to his knees. His dagger at his waist is to his left and he too has anklets on. Behind him are three women: one next to him, on his right, extremely young and two to his left, of equal height, but who they were cannot be identified for lack of evidence.

Tenth Statue: *Tirumala Nāyaka*

Tirumala Nāyaka seems to have ordered the installation of all these ten statues in the Pudu *Maṅṭapam*. This is the best of all the ten images. He is depicted as more ornate than all his predecessors: he has broad jaws, immense hips, gigantic legs, a protuberant stomach bulging from his waist-belt. His face is realistic and this image has been generously called "unparalleled in Indian imagery". He has

almond-like eyes, a broad well-moulded nose, comparatively thin lips, a small chin, he wears a small *kullāyi* conquettishly slanting far to his left. He has jewelled rings, on his wrists and fingers. His *dhoti* is magnificently ornamented with flower and bird designs and he too has a dagger in his waist-belt at his left. On each side of him are three women regally attired, rather gaudily painted, fully bejewelled, each one smaller than the other, the one nearest to him being the tallest. The last two have fans in their hands, indicating that they must have been attendants and not necessarily concubines. Behind these fan-bearers a dancing girl is playing on an instrument imagined to resemble a mandolin.[70]

In the upper part of the base of these statues, there is a long procession of twenty-two women, with clasped hands, guarded by eunuchs, a usage common in Vijayanagara courts.[71] It has been suggested, on the basis of an anonymous Jesuit letter that Tirumala had kept more than 700 women in his palace and that, during that letter-writer's stay at Madurai, Tirumala had never left his palace even for shooting, "a customary royal amusement."[72] This letter, apart from being anonymous, cannot be given any credence for it is known from an inscription that he toured his kingdom in the execution of his public duties.[73]

Jaina Monoliths

Probably the most impressive contribution of the Jainas to the realm of Indian art was in the sphere of iconography. Jaina sculpture is seen at its best in the 1000-pillared *basti* at Mūḍubidri, South Kanara District, Karnāṭaka. On the whole, the Jainas were not in the habit of indulging too much in figure sculpture. Here and there on the facades of pillars intrude figures of men and women. For instance on an inscription of Irugappa above the script are seated a woman with folded hands, a Jaina with a triple umbrella over head, and a man beside him with a book.[74]

But infinitely superior to these figures are the representations of their Tīrthaṅkaras. These immense figures or rather colossi can be found in three Jaina centres though smaller representations of not much artistic value can be seen on the outer walls of the vestibule of the Hazāra Rāma temple as well as in several large shrines in Vijayanagara. Smith, whose bias to Indian art is often seen in his work, observed rather uncharitably that Jaina sculpture in general "is so extremely formal and conventional that it possesses little interest and demands slight notice."[75] This is too sweeping a remark, which is to say the least, hardly justified. Jaina art is certainly interesting from its own angle and their monoliths and their painting, which will be dealt with in the last chapter, demand attention whatever such views like Smith's may assert.

Jaina imagery had to observe certain classical principles in its construction. According to the *Mānasāra* "The image of a Jaina should have only two arms, two eyes and a cropped head; either standing with legs kept straight or in the *abhaṅga*

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But infinitely superior to these figures are the representations of their Tīrthaṅkaras. These immense figures or rather colossi can be found in three Jaina centres though smaller representations of not much artistic value can be seen on the outer walls of the vestibule of the Hazāra Rāma temple as well as in several large shrines in Vijayanagara. Smith, whose bias to Indian art is often seen in his work, observed rather uncharitably that Jaina sculpture in general "is so extremely formal and conventional that it possesses little interest and demands slight notice."[75] This is too sweeping a remark, which is to say the least, hardly justified. Jaina art is certainly interesting from its own angle and their monoliths and their painting, which will be dealt with in the last chapter, demand attention whatever such views like Smith's may assert.

Jaina imagery had to observe certain classical principles in its construction. According to the *Mānasāra* "The image of a Jaina should have only two arms, two eyes and a cropped head; either standing with legs kept straight or in the *abhaṅga*

manner or it may be kept erect. The figure should be so sculptured to indicate deep contemplation: the right palm should be kept upwards upon the left palm held in the same manner and both resting on the crossed legs.'"[76] Specimens exemplifying every word of these injunctions can be still found in the Jaina monoliths in Karnātaka. Such monoliths survive at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, Veṇūr and Kārkaḷa, in Karnāṭaka. All these colossi represent Bāhubali and are uniform in design, construction and symmetery. Of these three those in the last two places fall within the purview of this study. They are also called Gomaṭa. The one at Kārkaḷa is 41 feet 5 inches high and 10 feet one-third inches wide, weighing about 80 tons, and was set up by one Vīra Pāṇḍya on the 13th Wednesday, 1432[77] and the Gomaṭa at Veṇūr (not Yeṇur[78]), 35 feet high was installed under the orders of Timmarāja, brother of a chief called Pāṇḍya of the family of Cāmuṇḍa Rāya.[79] They are all of one design: tall, with a curly head, eyes closed, wrapt in meditation, arms akimbo, let loose by the sides, nude, and ant-hills and serpents (*kukkuṭa-sarpa*) growing from them upwards to the unperturbed saint lost in the bliss of the absolute. They are ceremoniously bathed in milk, honey and other fragrances once every twelve years when a great feast is held to mark the occasion.

Imagery and Jewellery

Monoliths as seen in this account have beeen adorned in almost every case either in the case of kings or queens or their feudatories and their wives, and even among the common people, both men and women, with jewellery of different types which should be distinguished in order to understand these images better.

The Kullāyi

Among the personal adornments of the Vijayanagara rulers and also of the nobles and the common people, the cap was a very important item of decoration. It was known as the *kullāyi* but its precise origin has not yet been satisfactorily determined, although it has been attributed to various sources. It has been identified with the *kulaḥ* caps mentioned by Bāṇa[80] and held that it has been "rightly derived from the Persian *khola*[81] and that it was probably worn by Persians, Romans or Scythians."[82] Barros had noted that "this kind of costume comes to India from the China country and as only noblemen can wear it, as it is a sign of nobility we may call it *quira sol*, the form and use of which it resembles, usually it is six to eight palms in diameter, its stalk (or peak) is little more than fifteen."[83]

This type of conical cap is seen in many panels depicting village scenes[84] at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa with streamers flying behind a foot-solder's head,[85] at Sāñci[86] at Ajanta in cave no. 1.[87] Many of the conical caps seen at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, it has been observed, are exactly similar to those worn by some Śaka chieftains as sculptured at Mathura[88] and at Gāndhāra.[89]

The long conical cap was not worn by the Persians according to contemporary evidence. Herodotus says that like the Babylonians, the Persians wore only turbans but their soldiers however wore also the tiara or soft felt cap but not the conical head-gear.[90] If, as Paes suggests, this high cap was worn in Vijayanagara "like a Galician helmet,"[91] it is worth noting that according to Herodotus, "shields and helmets were introduced into Greece from Egypt."[92] Who then wore such conical caps? It is again Herodotus who furnishes a positive answer by revealing that it was the Sacae (a Scythian people) who "wore trousers and *tall pointed hats upright on their heads*."[93] The Sacae were the Śakas of Indian history known in India from the days of Pāṇini (*c*. 6-7th century B.C.).[94]

Which of the aforesaid identifications is correct and is there any evidence in support of it? The alleged Persian and Chinese origins must be given up in preference to the Sanskṛtic and Prākṛtic sources. *Kullāyi* is evidently derived from the Sanskrit word *kulalaḥ* meaning a wild cock (*Phasianus Gallus*)[95] which has a crest or comb like a tassel seen in some of the *kullāyi* caps. In Prākṛt also the word *kulala* is used to denote an unbaited bird mentioned in the Jaina *Sūtras*.[96] Jacobi had pointed out that the word *kulala* "seems to be derived from *kulaya* by assimilation of the *y* to the preceding consonant and could be compared with *salila* for *saliya-sarita-sarit*. In the sense of a bird the word *kulala* seems to be used in the well-known stanza of Bhartṛhari: *brahmocyena kulalavan niyamito brahmāṇḍa-bhaṇḍodare* unless here *kalala* is an early corruption for *kulayin*."[97] Jacobi's latter suggestion, unless corroborated, is untenable. The *kullāyi* is therefore apparently an adoption of the Indian wild cock's crest. It was worn not only by the royalty and nobility but also, as will be shown later, even by the common people.

Types of Jewellery: *Ear-rings*

Many of the ornaments mentioned by contemporary travellers, inscriptions and seen in imagery of the Vijayanagara period, ear-rings were very popular, even from early times. The *Bhūṣaṇa Lakṣaṇa* furnishes twelve kinds of these jewels.[98] In Vijayanagara days such ear-rings were worn as noticeable in the cases of the images cited earlier, both by men and women. Of the twelve types of these ornaments, the ladies of Vijayanagara generally wore the *vṛtta kuṇḍala*, which had the shape either of the plaintain tree flower or the lotus. It was a plain unadorned gold ornament of the same diameter as the other ornament. This can be seen for instance in the ears of the worshipping couple or for that matter, in almost any other carving depicting women of that age. The queens, however, wore another type of this jewel called the *ratna kuṇḍala*, which was round like the *vṛtta kuṇḍala* but flanked on either side of its circular shape with precious stones.

The men, however, had a slightly different variety of the same *kuṇḍala*. This too was circular but it was made up of four large precious stones with a large one in the centre as can be seen in the case of the image of Vekṅaṭa II. The classical

kuṇḍala of this type had small precious stones set circularly inside the larger stones and in their midst was placed the largest central precious stone. The common people wore the plain unadorned *vṛtta* worn by the women and even by the dancing girls.

Ornaments of the Neck

In ancient times there were three types of neck ornaments: the *upagrīva*, the *hāra* and the *hṛṇmālā*. The *upagrīva* consisted of a *rudrākṣa* seed or a bead or a seed of any precious stone or gold, strung in a gold wire or string. These beads were barrel-shaped sometimes single, as in the neck of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's image or these were long fascios worked along its length, of spherical shape collected in the centre to some extent on either side in the centre of which were prominently set two large precious stones as on the neck of queen Tirumalāṁbā's statue. A smaller necklace, highly ornamented, appears on a broken image probably of a queen. Again there is on Tirumala Rāya's neck one prominent spherical bead with similar beads decreasing in size proportionately on either side. Again there is on Tirumala Rāya's neck another *upagrīva* which is only a string with precious stones in double rows to a certain extent in the centre, while in the middle of it is placed a large precious stone. The common people wore a series of such beads on the neck.

The *hāra* was also strung with precious stones. It was to consist of six *aṅgulas* below the *hikka sūtra*, viz. about the middle of the chest, had to be four *aṅgulas* wide, three *yavas* in thickness and set with different types of precious stones.[99] How far such an injuction was observed can be seen from Tirumala Rāya's image. He wears only a single string but it is not possible to see whether or not it had a pendant.

The *hṛṇmālā*, another jewel worn on the chest, according to the *Bhūṣaṇa Lakṣaṇa*, was to hang below as far as the *udarabandha*.[100] Certain Thanjāvūr inscriptions reveal that it received its name from the number of strings or strands of which it was composed, viz. *ekavaḷḷi*, *trisari* and *pañcasari* and so forth, and all of them were covered by the general appellation of *Tirumalai*. In Vijayanagara times most of these ornaments must have existed although only on the image of Veṅkaṭa II hangs a two-stringed *hṛṇmālā*, strung closely together with circular pearls.

Ornaments on the Arms: Upper Arms

The ornament worn on the upper arm was called the *keyūra* and it was of great beauty and excellent workmanship. It comprised of various types but in Vijayanagara times three appear to have been used often. One was the plain *keyūra* unornamented and probably worn by the common people. Nobles like Muttu Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka wore much thicker ones, and two on the upper arm. The emperors however wore *keyūras* slightly more ornamented. Those worn by Kṛṣṇa

Deva Rāya are similarly plain but comparatively less thicker than Muttu Kṛṣṇappa's but they have in the centre of the *keyūra* and of the fore-arm simultaneously a *pūrita*, similar to that found on *mukuṭas* and, although it is hard to distinguish them on the images, they must have been elaborated wrought. Above the *pūrita* was an extended projection like a leaf. Sometimes instead of these two *keyūras*, there was only one and necessarily this was more carefully finished. In this *keyūra*, the *pūrita* had a tenon-like piece which fiitted into a hole in the arm-band and it was as thick as the band itself. This type of *keyūra* was called the *patra-pūrita-keyūra*. On the flanks of each tenon-like piece was a precious stone and on the upper and lower sides of it were set a series of round precious stones. A specimen of this type of *keyūra* can be seen on the arms of Tirumala Rāya's image.

Jewels on the Fore-arms

The fore-arm was adorned with the *kaṭaka-valaya* near the wrist. It had to be circular in shape, of the girth of the little finger or of two or three *yavas* (barley-corns) in thickness.[101] Sometimes it was single especially of the poor as can be noted on the wrists of a drummer or of that woman holding a child on her hips. Two separate *kaṭaka valayas* can also be seen as in the cases of the queens but differently constructed. In Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's image he wears two of them on each wrist but, in the case of his queen to his left, she has three of them on each wrist.

The *kaṭaka valaya*, heard of from early times,[102] was popular in Vijayanagara days and even later. Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya bore the rule of the earth on his arm as if it were a jewelled bracelet.[103] In his age the bracelets were among the insignia of royalty.[104] This fashion of wearing one or two *kaṭaka valayas* continued. In Tirumala Rāya's image he wears two thick *valayas*, one being broader than the other, composed of rectangular pieces, which had in the centre a prominent precious stone but its sides were plain. He also had a smaller one on which all round large precious stones were set, one after the other. On such a *kaṭaka valaya* was sometimes placed a square tenon-like piece of gold in the centre of which was imbedded another precious stone. Such a *kaṭaka valaya* clings to the fore-arms of Veṅkaṭa II.

Finger Rings (*aṅgulis*)

Fingers were not left unadorned. Finger rings can be seen on the fingers of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, Tirumala Rāya and Veṅkaṭa II. Being very small and delicate in workmanship, their precise nature cannot be easily determined.

The Girdle—Kaṭi-sūtra

The scarf binding the clothing at the lions called the *kaṭi-sūtra*, consisted of three girdles bound together by a buckle, shaped in the fashion of a lion's face, known as the *kṛitṛikamānam*.[105] In Vijayanagara art, although *kaṭi-sūtras* of three girdles adorn for example the waist of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya yet the lion's face is

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absent. According to the *Mānasāra* the *kaṭi-sūtra* could be also in the shape of a zone of gold set or inlaid with precious stones. The *Śilpa Ratna* however demands that the intervening space between each pair of the girdles has to be filled up with jewellery work. The festoons of pearls and strings or *ūrudamas* of precious stones were required to be hung from the *kaṭi-sūtras*, according to the *Āgamas*, descending to about the thigh.[106] In Vijayanagara imagery of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, he wears three double *kaṭi-sūtras* which appear as though single with a fair margin between them. Yet all these were held together by two gold threads on either side with single precious stones set in the front on all three girdles below the last of which the u-shaped *ūrudamas* hang side by side. In this case they do not descend to about a third of the thigh and in the centre of these below hangs a five-petalled medallion (*padaka*). In Veṅkaṭapati's case he has only a single stringed, thick *kaṭi-sūtra* which is also inlaid with round large precious stones.

The Anklet—Nūpura

In the *Mānasāra* the anklet is called the *nūpura*, which can be seen on the ankles of Coḷa warriors,[107] the Hoysaḷa life-guards (*garuḍas*)[108] and also of ministers like Kuvara Lakkaya, a faithful minister of Ballāḷa III in 1220. On his left leg was a *toḍar* (anklet) but it was like the ring bound on the leg of an elephant to strengthen it while the images engraved on it resembled ministers whose words failed in the time of trouble clinging to his feet through fear.[109] It is not known whether such *nūpuras* were engraved in the Vijayanagara period but that they were worn is certain. Vīra Narasiṁha Rāya presented his general Timma Rāja for having subdued and brought to the capital the rebel governor of Adoṇi, an anklet (*gaṇḍapeṇḍāra*) as a token of his appreciation.[110] During Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's reign the poet Peddaṇa recounts how he presented his daughter to the emperor and put on his leg such a *gaṇḍapeṇḍāra* as a token of his submission.[112] Sometimes the common people, even today, wear it but only on the right leg. The emperors of Vijayanagara wore it. The *nūpura* can be noticed on all images of Vijayanagara emperors either plain or embellished. An ornamented *nūpura* is found on Tirumala Rāya's ankles. With the typical square piece of gold embedded with precious stones, it presents a neat and artistic appearance. It can be noted on the ankles of all the ten images in the Pudu *Maṅṭapam* of the Nāyakas at Madurai.

Ornaments of Women

The women too of this period wore several ornaments. The women first wore a belt which the *Mānasāra* called the *mekhalā*.[112] Especially the queens wore an ornamented type of *mekhalā* which had in front and in its centre a square piece of gold with a precious stone set in it and on either side of it star-like similar pieces with identically imbedded precious stones. The girdles were somewhat adorned like-

wise but the final pendant was a veined semi-circular ornament. Sometimes the queens wore only two of such girdles of gold. As the *Mānasāra* would have it, they were broad zones—of gold with two or three broad rows of large beads having in the centre either square or spherical precious stones. Though obviously heavy its workmanship must have been excellent. Paes noted these girdles hanging in order almost as far down as half the thigh in the cases of those whom he calls the "Maids of Honour."[113] In Tuḷuva too, a province of Vijayanagara, the *kaṭi-sūtra* or *bandha* or *mekhalā* was worn not only by men but also by women. Deyi Baideyī for example, took off her *padumārike* girdle of silver and presented it to the famous brothers Koṭi Cennaya.[114] The queens also wore the *keyūra*, as can be seen from the statue of a queen in the capital. It consisted of two of them comprising of large closely strung beads, evidently of gold, and between the upper and the lower *keūyras* some space was left.

Most of the ornaments worn by men were also donned by women.

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99 *Bhūṣaṇa Lakṣaṇa*. T.A. Gopinath Rao, *Q.J.M.S.*, IX, pp. 126-27, pl. III.
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CHAPTER SIX

SCULPTURE

The Nature of Vijayanagara Sculpture

THE sculpture of the Vijayanagara school was new yet, like its architecture, composite. But foreign art critics have traced it to strange origins and influences. According to Goetz "The indigenous sculpture of Vijayanagar developed from the style of the funeral *stelas* (*vīrakkal* and *satikkal*) and snake stones of Western Cāḷukyan times. Their representation is naïve, in flat stripes, without foreshortening or perspective but immensely vital. Under Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya it became an integral part of official art."[1] These remarks are rather absurd and pointless and Goetz hardly realised what he was saying and knew little about South Indian sculpture. It can never be asserted with impunity that Vijayanagara sculpture developed from funeral stelas like those of the *vīrakkal* or the *satikkal* for they are invariably crude and very seldom do we find any sculpture worth the name on such stones. In fact there was hardly any need for Vijayanagara craftsmen or sculptors to develop their art from such poor specimens when they had before them fine examples in schools of genuine excellence of various dynasties which had preceded the estabishment of Vijayanagara. There is nothing particular about the alleged excellence of the Western Cāḷukyan stelas to provide any models for the Vijayanagara sculptor who had before him the excellent sculptures of the Hoysaḷas which, despite their florid exuberance, still prove their superiority over many other schools of

sculpture in South Indian art. The Vijayanagara artists in stone could have drawn their inspiration, if at all they required it, from their immediate predecessors the Hoysaḷas instead of drawing it from the Western Cāḷukyas, who had become extinct in the 8th century. There is no proof of any type to show that the Vijayanagara sculptor was either trained or tutored or had in any manner been influenced by Western Cāḷukyan sculpture at any time or under any circumstances. In fact he could have derived his inspiration from any of the various schools which have already been mentioned and not necessarily from the Western Cāḷukyas with whom he had little affinity either aesthetic or artistic, let alone political or economic or even religious. As the Vijayanagara craftsmen had, as already shown in connection with architecture, acquired their ideas from various schools of art which had prevailed before them, there is no valid reason why they should in the execution of their sculpture, which formed but an element of their temple structure, have depended or preferred Western Cāḷukyan stela sculpture instead of any of the numerous styles often much better than that style.

To assert that Vijayanagara sculpture is naïve or artless, unaffected or amusingly simple is ridiculous for the amazing variety of this school is proof enough to disclose its variety, skill and versatiltiy on the difficult medium or base of the rough granite on which we find their sculptures. Moreover, to call it flat-striped, without foreshortening or perspective, reveals a lack of the true critical spirit to appreciate this art. This sculpture is found not only in Vijayanagara but in fact all over South India and it is never flat or without perspective especially because this type of sculpture is, for instance in the capital itself, represented in a series of panels which offered little scope for any foreshortening or perspective, which should not be expected in any artistic work on such rough surfaces. That these sculptures are "immensely vital" is only to dole out cheap admiration from one like Goetz who could not either appreciate or understand this sculpture.

Goetz's remark that during Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's reign Vijayanagara sculpture became an integral part of official art presupposes that sculpture till then was different from what he calls "official art". Was there till then any unofficial art and why should such sculpture only during Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya be styled "official"? This criticism is also pointless for no distinction worth the name can be made of official and non-official art at any period of Indian art. Merely on finding sculpture representing a monarch or his queens or his courtiers or visitors to his court cannot entitle any art-critic to label such sculpture as either official or non-official for in sculpture we always find such incidents from court life or the social circles present and no inference of such a nature should be inferred rather casually. This composite school of Vijayanagara sculpture, like their architecture, throbs with a thrilling vitality, a freshness of expression and a freedom from the bonds of convention.

The Facets of Vijayanagara Sculpture: Religion and Social Life

Śaiva Deities

Sculpture in Vijayanagara art can be examined from the points of view of two religions: Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. In Śaiva sculpture we find Śiva, his sons Skanda and Gaṇapati, his wife Pārvatī, his *śaktis* like Kālī and Mahiṣāsuramardinī.

Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī[2] was one of the topics which attracted Indian sculptors from early times. The *Āgamas* demand that in sculpture Śiva and Pārvatī should form the central figures facing the east, depicting Viṣṇu and his consorts Lakṣmī and Bhūmī, as givers of the bride, Pārvatī. Viṣṇu is to stand in the background between Śiva and Pārvatī with a golden pitcher of water ready to pour it during the ceremony of giving away the bride to the bridegroom. Round these are to be carved quite a host of other deities.[3] This was a favourite subject of Indian sculptors who carved many incidents from Śiva's life including of course this one as can be seen in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa panels at Ellora.[4] In the Pudu *Maṅṭapam* at Madurai, mentioned earlier, there is a sculpture of this incident in which, it may be said, the sculptor had followed largely the Āgamic injunctions.[5] There is a rugged simplicity which does not make it very striking. Viṣṇu is pouring water from a vessel on Śiva's hand while beside him is his bride Pārvatī. There is some uncongenial stiffness in these figures and one cannot fail to notice their rather fierce, glaring eyes. Pārvatī, however, stands in the centre like a typical Indian bride, shy and natural. But in the Mallikārjuna temple at Śrīśailam the earlier part of this marriage is depicted in an interesting panel. On its top border appears an inscription: "This is the place where the bridegroom was brought to be shown to Himavaṅta."[6] In this sculpture too the sculptor has not followed the Āgamic injunctions strictly and here is a slightly new version of Śiva's wedding with Pārvatī. Coomaraswamy once observed that Śiva "does not assume a human incarnation."[7] This carving disproves that assertion for here Śiva is portrayed as an old man, rather haggard, bowed and begging and supported at the waist by the triple-faced Brahmā, behind whom appears Viṣṇu somewhat like a best-man, holding in his hands the discus (*cakra*) and the conch (*śaṅkha*). Śiva, though haggard and jaded, is recognised by Pārvatī who folds both her hands in salutation to him. She is however tried to be diverted from this passion for an old man by her father Himavaṅta, who is shown with one hand on her shoulder, calling her attention to the distress of her mother, Menakā, standing beside him in tears, at this prospect of her daughter accepting a decrepit dotard. But for Brahmā and Viṣṇu, all the rest are portrayed as human figures quite in the Vijayanagara style. The gods including Himavaṅta, wear the crown (*makuṭa*) while they too wear the common costume of the Vijayanagara people. Pārvatī and her mother likewise don the ear-rings (*kuṇḍala*), bare-bosomed and are clad in the long sārī-like garment, like any other woman of the day. The background is plain. This is a novel interpretation of Śiva's marriage which

reflects credit on Vijayanagara sculptors who fairly succeeded in humanising divinities.[8] Traces of these deities are also found on their coins. Varthema, the traveller, on seeing their *varāha* coins foolishly remarked that "two devils (Śiva and Pārvatī)" were stamped on one side of them.[9]

At Śrīśailam, Śiva is shown much like a mortal hunting a tiger with dogs. Nevertheless the sculptor did not forget to give four arms to Śiva though he married an earthly woman, according to a local legend there. It is said that Śiva once went to Śrīśailam on a hunting expedition and fell in love with a lovely Chenchu woman and eventually married her. She, so goes the story, also used to accompany him on his hunting expeditions in the neighbouring forests.[10] Śiva's sons were not forgotten. We have already noticed how, in the Tārakeśvara shrine near the Mukti-Narasimha temple at Vijayanagara, there is a little sculpture of Śiva and Pārvatī who is sitting on his lap. Their children were Skanda and Gaṇeśa (cf. ante) who in the Hazāra Rāma's temple appear on the heavy pillars of the porches there along with Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Hanumān and several *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. Again, on the most ornate temple on the Hemakūṭa Hill, Gaṇeśa appears in many attitudes. He is shown on the door-jambs and lintels of this shrine as a dancing Gaṇeśa, with a dancing Devī, two elephants holding a pitcher and flower above a circular lotus medallion, and men with long plaited hair, blowing conches. In fact there are so many sculptures of Gaṇeśa in this shrine that it well might have been once dedicated to Gaṇeśa.[11]

Skanda, Śiva's second son, who is known in the South as Murugan or Kumāra in the Tamil Nāḍu, Kārttikeya in the north and as Subrahmaṇya in Karnāṭaka, was also represented in sculpture in Vijayanagara. One of the sub-shrines of the Kṛṣṇa temple in that capital, in the south has several stucco figures of Subrahmaṇya seated on his *vāhana*, the peacock. His existence in a Kṛṣṇa shrine is noteworthy and is a proof of the tolerance of the Vijayanagara emperors.

Feminine Deities

Mahiṣāsuramardinī is a form of Durgā. She is represented as slaying the demon Mahiṣāsura who had come to seek her hand[12] and this is probably a symbol standing for the destruction of ignorance by wisdom.[13] This symbolism has been magnificently portrayed at Mahābalipuram[14], Ellora,[15] and Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-śoḷapuram.[16]

At Vijayanagara this deity is represented many times. In the western corridor of the Sarasvatī shrine there is a worn-out black-stone image of a six-armed sculpture of this deity. Another representation of this goddess depicts her as triumphant, astride the Asura represented as a buffalo whose head is not cut off nor is its blood gushing forth from its neck. She has only four hands which neither the *Śilparatna* nor the *Viṣṇudharmottara* sanction. She wears a transparent garment which is well carved. She is pressing the *trīśūla* (trident) with her fore

right hand and left hand on the back of the prostrate buffalo. Her hind left holds a conch while her second right hand is not clearly visible. She wears the *kaṭaka-valayas* adorned with the leaf-design like the one appearing on Tirumalāmbā's forearm and has anklets as well. Her ears are adorned with large *patra-kuṇḍalas* and she has a huge crown (*makuṭa*). There is a touch of ferocity in her face which is well carved. She has immense breasts which, fulfilling the requirements of the *Suprabhedāgama*, are well sculptured and covered with an ornamented breast-band after the Vijayanagara style. The *mahiṣa* is well chiselled and looks quite realistic. The whole sculpture is well conceived, beautifully composed and expresses with extraordinary power and concentrated passion, the wrath and might of the Supreme Beneficence roused to battle with the spirit of evil. There is a look of triumph on her face and a sense of victory in her posture, displaying a great mastery of form and technique.

This deity is also found at Śrīśailam in the Mallikārjuna temple. On the Beṭṭadapura temple, dedicated to Mallikārjuna, there are two small shrines; one of which contains an image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī.[17] At Śrīśailam itself over the entrance to the Amman shrine is carved a stone image of Mahiṣāsurmardinī.[18] The panels of the Mallikārjuna temple also contain many representations of this goddess.[19]

Kālī—A Śakti of Śiva

Kālī, called in the *Uttarakaraṇāgama* one of the wings of Śiva,[20] is also known in the *Lalitopākhyāna* as accompanying Mahākàla, a form of Śiva, more fierce than Bhairava.[21] She is said to be that active energy of Śiva, which is Viṣṇu himself while it assumes an angry mood.[22] She has been given different names such as Bhadra Kālī, Kālabhadrā, and Mahākālī. The *Caṇḍīkalpa* depicts this form of Kāḷi as having ten faces, ten legs and ten arms in which are held all weapons of war. In this form she is said to have been invoked by Brahmā to kill the demons Madhu and Kaṭiabha who were attempting to smash Viṣṇu in his sleep.[23]

A phase of this Kālī is represented in Vijayanagara and it evidently pertains to the Saṅgama dynastic period, when Śaivism for four or five generations was the royal creed. It is an excellent piece of sculpture carved on a granite slab, revealing what a skilled sculptor could achieve. Here she has only one face, with ten hands in each of which she clasps a weapon while her tongue is sticking out. This sculpture is marvellously conceived and expresses in terms of plenary magnitude an an immensity of superhuman power.

Some Aspects of Śiva

Bhikṣāṭana Mūrti

According to a legend when Śiva cut off one of the heads of god Brahmā, he

incurred the sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa and the latter's skull stuck to his palm and could not be removed. In order to get rid of both the sin and the skull, it was ordained that Śiva had to wander about on the earth as a naked beggar (*bhikṣāṭana*) until at last he reached a sacred spot on the slopes of the Himālayas known as the Brahmā-Kapāla where, after bathing evidently, he was released from that sin and the incriminating skull fell of its own accord. As a rule, the roles of Bhikṣāṭana are invariably represented with only a few jewels, the usual head-dress and sandals being worn.[21] In a sculpture on a wall in the Mallikārjuna temple he is thus portrayed, accompanied by dwarfs one before and one behind, carrying umbrellas. There is a small boy proceeding ahead with a begging bowl. He has four arms: the upper ones hold the drum and the trident, the lower right hand is inclined towards a deer about to lick his hand while the left one clasps Brahmā's skull. The Bhikṣāṭana Śiva is said to have been such a handsome figure that, wherever he went, women fell madly in love with him. Once he went into the Dārukāvana forest, where lived the wives of the hermits who succumbed to his charms. This spirit is beautifully depicted in a panel in this shrine. In the upper panel, one woman with a child in her arms, immodestly allowing her dress to slip from her waist, is running after Śiva while three other women in a chamber are beseeching him with their hands on their heads to return. The natural retribution of this is shown below in which the furious sages are wildly upbraiding their misguided wives. This carving is very skilfully executed. One sage has raised his finger as though warning his spouse not to commit such inconstancy in future. The next pair shows a more pitiable state: a woman begs a sage's forgiveness while his wife has meekly fallen at his feet. This panel is an excellent specimen of the Vijayanagara sculptor's skill in story telling on stone, reminding one of the *Jātaka* panels.[25]

Śiva-Candrāvatī Marriage

There is a fine sculpture of the princess Candrāvatī and the cow in the Mallikārjuna temple at Śrīśailam. In the *Sthaḷa Mahātmya* of that shrine is a legend about the origin of that place. A princess named Candrāvatī, a daughter of a king Candragupta, conceived a passion for the god of Śrīśailam Hill (Śiva) and began offering daily a garland of jasmine flowers (*mallikā*) to him and eventually married him. The popular tale narrated to the visitors there today is that a king (*rājā*) of a place called Candragupta *paṭṭanam*, after being absent for a time, fell in love with his own daughter. At this that daughter fled to Śrīśailam, taking with her a faithful herdsman and some cattle. Among her cattle she noticed a fine black cow which never yielded any milk. She had that cow watched and found that it was in the habit of going to a particular place in the forest and voluntarily giving its milk to a *liṅga*-shaped stone. The herdsmen, whom she had sent to watch, also noticed this remarkable scene. That night Śiva appeared to her in a dream and

told her that the stone was a manifestation of himself in the form of a *liṅga* and she thereupon built a temple of Śiva at Śrīśailam. This is said of many a Śiva temple in South India.[26] At Śrīśailam in this temple there is one panel depicting this scene, in which the herdsman points out to the princess Candrāvatī how the cow was pouring its milk over the *liṅga*, revealing how a sculptor could illustrate even on a rugged granite convincingly. The craftsmanship is rather crude but there is a characteristic simplicity about this sculpture.

Other Śaiva Deities

Vīrabhadra is another deity, about whom something has already been said earlier in connection with imagery. Close to the Hanumān temple at Udayagiri or Koṇdayapaṭnam, lying on the ground, was a large stone image of Śiva in the form of Vīrabhadra. All of such sculptures are early and worthy of notice.[27] It has almost all the features of Vīrabhadra pointed out earlier and need not be repeated here. A similar figure was also discovered between the flag-staff (*dhvaja stambha*) and the Great Temple at Madurai and it is a striking piece of art.[28].

Śiva appears as the Kāmadahanamūrti, Tripurāri and Kalyāṇasundara in the Raṅga *Maṇṭapa* at Vijayanagara.

Viśvakarmā (Tvaṣṭṛ)

The Vedic deity Tvaṣṭṛ also known as Viśvakarmā was associated with Śiva. We sometimes see Viśvakarmā, the architect of the gods, with a pair of scales weighing Śiva in one scale and all the gods in the other but Śiva is shown as outweighing them all!

Vaiṣṇava Deities

The ten incarnations (*avatāras*) of Viṣṇu are seen in some Vijayanagara shrines, viz. in the Raṅga *Maṇṭapa* of the Virūpākṣa temple at Vijayanagara. In the lovely Viṭṭhaḷasvāmi temple there in the large *mahāmaṇḍapa* at intervals along the base in the ornate *vimāna* projections within are depicted the *Daśa Avatāras* of Viṣṇu including a standing sculpture of Kalki with a horse's head, reminiscent of Dakṣa's head of a goat. Such composite figures will be dealt with in connection with Symbolism. In other sculptures features of the *Daśāvatāras* are depicted. In the Matsya *Avatāra*, Viṣṇu is supposed to have recovered the lost *Vedas* from the Ocean, and its representation could be made either in the form of a common fish or half-fish and half-man.[29] In Vijayanagara only plain carvings of a broad fish adorn either the bare walls of a temple or the facades of a pillar in many shrines in the capital. Similarly the Kūrma *Avatāra* was assumed by Viṣṇu for supporting on his back the mountain employed in churning the ocean (*amṛta manthana*) to obtain nectar (*amṛta*)

for the gods.[30] In Vijayanagara we see only plain sculptures like those of a fish on walls or pillars of temples. At Śrīśailam on the south wall of the Beṭṭapurada temple dedicated to Mallikārjuna, a huge tortoise is carved on its walls. In the Hazāra Rāma temple in the capital, Viṣṇu is carved in many of his manifestations including Kalki seen with a horse's head in the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple. Kalki in the Hazāra Rāma temple is represented like Viṣṇu with four arms clasping the conch (*śaṅkha*), wheel (*cakra*), a sword (*khaḍga*) and shield (*kaṭaka*). On the walls of Hazāra Rāma's *garbhagṛha* (sanctum) in two little friezes appears the unusual *avatāra* of the Buddha incorporated in the Vaiṣṇava pantheon.

Aspects of Viṣṇu

Viṣṇu in his various aspects can be seen on the panels of Vijayanagara temples in the capital and elsewhere in south India. One of such representations is that of Anantaśayana, depicting Viṣṇu as reclining on the Śeṣa. This recumbent pose of Viṣṇu is known by different names. Probably the one at Vijayanagara reveals Viṣṇu in his *madhyama yoga śayana* depicting the birth of Brahmā and this pose, according to tradition, shows Viṣṇu reclining with only two hands. In this sculpture, found on a natural rock to the north-west of the Varāha temple, Madhu Kaiṭabha and the five *Āyudha Puruṣas* with their cohorts are all missing. So this sculpture belongs to the *adhama* class.[31] Śeṣa has here seven hoods, the carving is rough and this sculpture has nothing of the majesty of the *madhyama yoga śayana mūrti* found at Mahābalipuram.[32] Nevertheless it is not easy to forget its meek yet chaste ornamentation. To the right stands as a door-keeper (*dvārapāla*) Hanumān and to the left is Viṣṇu's vehicle (*vāhana*) Garuḍa. Viṣṇu is profusely adorned with *upagrīvās*, *hṛnmālās*, *valayas*, *pādajalakas* and girdles, quite in keeping with classical traditions. The crown (*kirīṭa*) is also beautifully executed and it only adds to the obvious serenity of the entire sculpture. There is another sculpture of Viṣṇu like this but with only two hands and much cruder than this engraving.[33]

Anantaśayana was commemorated in a shrine in the little village of Anantaśayanaguḍi (implying a small shrine), about 1.6 km from Hospet, where an inscription of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya records his foundation of the Sāle Tirumala Mahārāyapura supposed to be the later Ananantaśayanaguḍi,[34] and built a shrine for the god Anantapadmanābha[35] but, owing to depredation, its sanctum is empty and there are no *stūpis*. Viṣṇu worship prevailed largely in the Vijayanagara empire from the advent of the Tuḷuva dynasty. Temples to Viṣṇu were raised like the Viṣṇu temple north-west of the Viṭṭhala shrine built by Sadāśiva Rāya[36] in 1556 and known as the Tirumaṅgai Āḷvāra temple, the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple, whose large *mahāmaṇḍapa*, as pointed out earlier, contains friezes of the *Daśāvatāras* and the *maṇḍapa* with its fifty-six pillars which in the north depict various forms of Narasiṁha and different such shrines. Such Viṣṇu temples some times depict some Viṣṇu symbols, which are occasionally like the letter U either simple or adorned with slight modifications.

These have been explained in various ways as symbolising the feet of Rāma Dāśarathi and are consequently represented in paintings or sculptures along with marks of royalty and high birth such as chariots or flags.

Rāma Dāśarathi

In the sphere of Vaiṣṇava worship Rāma played a great role in Vijayanagara sculpture. It may be recalled how an entire temple was dedicated to Rāma and called after him the Hazāra Rāma temple, probably believed to mean the shrine of a thousand Rāmas while really it implied a royal temple leading to the emperor's palace (*hajāramu*-Telugu and *asāram*-Tamil) meaning an audience hall. This shrine is a museum of panels depicting many scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* especially pertaining to Rāma's activities in Kiṣkhiṅdha with which Vijayanagara (Hampi) has been identified by some. Among its important friezes are those which portray Ṛṣyaśṛṅga performing the *putra-kāmeṣṭhi yajña*, with all the real magnificence of epic grandeur. It is depicted with a quaint realism which brings back those epic days into the medieval atmosphere of Vijayanagara. There are several others dedicated to this *avatāra* of Viṣṇu on the walls of the inner *prākāra*, which in their line are quite unique. We can see Rāma slaying the demon Tāṭakā vividly portrayed. In another panel Rāma exhibits to Sugrīva his skill as an archer by shooting through the seven trees. Another panel depicts the fall of Jaṭāyu and that mighty bird is falling gigantically to the earth with its vast wings all powerless, represented vividly. The sculptor, who must have been an original craftsman, pictures three men sadly staggering under the mighty bow of Śiva, which Rāma had to bend before he could win Sītā in Janaka's court.

The sculptor could also portray humorous incidents from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Hanumān interviewing Rāvaṇa in his own city of Laṅkā is sitting quite as tall as the ten-headed giant, on his tail. None, who beholds this sculpture, can fail to realise how well the engraver has fully picturised sharply on this hard granite surface the real spirit of that situation.

Another scene more interesting than this is a sculpture depicting Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa being ferried across the Ganges. The weirdness and vitality in this sculpture are unmistakable, bearing testimony to the fact that the Vijayanagara artist could fashion as well an incident from the epics as they could from their own times. Probably the most impressive of these sculptures is the one describing the death-agony of Rāvaṇa. He is falling with all his hands, his whole figure aslant and with his arms astride, in a wonderful manner. These sculptures, though they are not clogged with the cumbersome details and heaviness of the Hoysaḷas, are activised with life, and instinct with such a vitality that their beauty and realism cannot be easily forgotten. Of course these cannot be compared with the *Rāmāyaṇa* carvings of Prambanān and Cambodia (now Kampuchea) which are much superior but the energy and activity of these do not in any way make them despicable in comparison.

Incidents from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are also seen in both the temples of Tāḍpatri.[37] These sculptures, purely the work of Vijayanagara artists, have elicited high praise from art critics like Smith[38] who had not hesitated to condemn Vijayanagara art as semi-barbaric. Smith emphasised more the beauty of the local blue-stone rather than the inherent artistic value of these sculptures.

In the Kodaṇḍarāma temple on a natural rock, are carved in high relief the figures of Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa. In another Rāma temple, once mistaken as a Jaina *basti*, enshrining friezes depicting Garuḍa, Gajalakṣmī, Hanumān and Vaiṣṇava door-keepers (*dvārapālas*).

In these sculptures of Rāma, his ally Hanumān is not forgotten. Near a shrine locally known as the Sūryanārāyaṇa temple survives a figure of Hanumān already mentioned, within a wheel-like *yantra* called Yantroddhāraka Āñjaneya. The Mālyavanta Raghunātha temple on the Mālyavanta Hill in the capital has a natural boulder attached to the *garbhagṛha* and *antarāla*, on which is carved a sculpture of Rāma, and Sītā, Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān the former standing and the latter kneeling, on either side.

Garuḍa is not left out by the Vijayanagara craftsman in his sculptures. Śukrācārya says that a sculpture or image of Garuḍa should have two hands, beautiful eyes, a bill and wings, a human form, a charmed bracelet, with his palms in the *añjali* pose, head bent low, and eyes fixed towards the lotus feet of the adored.[39] The *Mahābhārata* relates how Garuḍa freed Vinatā, his mother, from the slavery of his father Kaśyapa's other wife Kadru, with the help of her sons, who were all snakes and for their sake, he brought nectar (ambrosia-*amṛta*) from the gods.[40] On one of the pillars at Vijayanagara we see Garuḍa carrying Viṣṇu, showing how, when Garuḍa was returning from the world of the gods, he met Viṣṇu and promised to serve him as his vehicle and the device on his banner. In the vacant and open *garbhagṛha* of the Caṇḍikeśvara temple at Vijayanagara, on a pedestal *(pīṭha)* is a sculpture of Garuḍa in that *añjali mudrā*. Garuḍa shrines are normally seen in Vaiṣṇava temples. In the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple there is another sculpture of Garuḍa, carved in the typical and sanctioned manner.

Kṛṣṇa Avatāra

In Vijayanagara there exists the well-known Kṛṣṇa temple, to the north of the Ugra Narasiṁha colossus. On one of its pillars in its *ardhamaṇḍapa*, as pointed out before, are carved all the *Daśāvatāras* including that of Kalki sitting with a horse's head. One of its sub-shrines contains a sculpture of Subrahmaṇya seated on a peacock. This is a surprising find in a Kṛṣṇa temple.

On the walls of many Vijayanagara temples sculptures of Kṛṣṇa as Veṇugopāla with the lute in his hand standing under a tree and with the *gopis* around are common.[41] Sometimes this is seen in cases where Kṛṣṇa sits on a tree with the *gopi* maidens in a pond below, begging him to return to them their clothes which he

had stolen and hung on a tree while they were bathing. Sometimes Kṛṣṇa is depicted as a child with a ball of butter in his right hand and he is crawling on the ground as at Udipi. At Penukoṇḍa in a sculpture Kṛṣṇa is shown in a sculpture shown tied to a mortar.[42]

Other Deities—Sarasvatī

Besides the deities mentioned earlier, Sarasvatī in Vijayanagara was worshipped as can be seen from a temple dedicated to her. It is rather crudely built and has some stucco figures mostly destroyed, including Kṛṣṇa as a child. To the east of this shrine, lying south-east of the Ugra Narasiṁha colossus, in a rather dilapidated state is a boulder with a carving depicting a goddess with two arms, with a palm-leaf in her hands. It probably represents Sarasvatī because she holds a palm-leaf symbolic of writing and scholarship in the past. In another subshrine of the Virūpākṣa temple is a black-stone image of Sarasvatī, with two arms and playing on the *vīṇā*.

Saintly Persons in Sculpture

Apart from deities of various faiths, we occasionally find in the panels of Vijayanagara some holy men represented. Among them two important ones may be singled out: Vidyāraṇya and Mādhvācārya.

The sage Vidyāraṇya is included in the paintings, about which more will be said later, and on the ceiling of the Virūpākṣa temple he is depicted as proceeding in a procession. A temple is in fact dedicated, though it is a small one near that shrine, to that sage.

The other saint Mādhavācārya, was not ignored. In a shrine dedicated to Bhuvaneśvarī the great Mādhava or Mādhvācārya is shown with a pair of scales, the lower of which holds the city of Vijayanagara and the other the city of Kāśi together with a seed of *gulaguṁji*, the seed of *Abrun Precatourius* or Indian Liquorice. The implication is evidently that the city of Vijayanagara, in comparison with Kāñci, a centre of sanctity, was weightier when weighed with even such a tiny seed. Tradition has it that it belongs to the first Sāḷuva dynasty but this is not easy to decide. They may represent either the three gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra, the three Fires, the three *Vedas* or the triple essentials of faith: Prakṛti, Jīvātmā and Paramātmā.[43]

Sculpture and Royalty

The king, the pivot of medieval society, who fostered their arts, their artistic creations, was often represented in their sculptures. No representations of the Saṅgama and Sāḷuva dynastic rulers can be seen anywhere in the Vijayanagara

sculptures excepting of course in the pages of picturesque travellers like Abdur Razzak or Nicolo dei Conti, to mention only two. But luckily the rulers of Tuḷuva and Āravīṭi dynasties can be seen in their imagery, already noticed. The king is often portrayed as seated on the jewelled throne of his inscriptions, his left leg crossed over his right, which is slung below, his right hand resting on what appears to be a cushion while his left hand is generally raised in a gesture of approbation. Behind him sit his favourite queens and his great friends.[44] In such royal groups, behind him stands a *chauri*-bearer, while receiving an ambassador from the Portugales of Goa.

Such a picture was not always mechanically reproduced on granite surfaces in sculpture. Thus in the Kalyāṇa *maṇḍapa* of the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple, where no other king would have been represented as that shrine has been ascribed to Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya he is shown as witnessing a dance. He sits on a similar throne but now with his right leg let down and his left resting on the throne while he supports himself on a cushion with his left hand, and with his right approves of the performance ontduced before him. Behind him, this time, are two of his queens.

Sculpture and the Common People

The citizens of Vijayanagara are represented in their sculptures in a variety of ways. They are seen riding, shooting, dancing, fighting, wrestling, leading camels and horses, enjoying rest in an extremely realistic manner. They often recall unmistakably the sculptures of the *Jātakas* both in the north and south in earlier times. Among these, the pose of prayer, especially of the Brāhmaṇas must not be forgotten and they were a privileged class, enjoying the special favour of the king and though they were brave, versatile[45] and unscrupulous[46] they were exempt from capital punishment.[47] They accompanied soldiers to battle to encourage them[48] and, as even the common people held them in great veneration,[49] it is no wonder to find them though occasionally on the panels of Vijayanagara temples. On one of the pillars of the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple are two carvings of persons apparently Brāhmaṇas. To the right sits an elderly man in the *padmāsana* and joining both his palms above his head he is perhaps performing his twilight (*sandhyā*) worship. To the left is a similar figure but both his hands are folded on his breast and he wears a muffler-like garment like a typical *sanyāsi* of the Hindu fold, commencing from his left thigh and descending down again as it has begun. He seems deeply absorbed in meditation. Could it be one of the *svāmis* of the Śriṅgeri *Maṭha*?

Sculpture and Features of Social Life

Some characteristics of Vijayanagara social life can be seen on their friezes. Here and there on their panels we find persons standing, wearing their typical triangular head-gears and, holding in either hand what are obviously maces, which they

rest on their shoulders, defiant yet serene. These clubs resemble our Indian *gadā* but are broader and rounded at the base. This could not have been a fancy of the sculptor because Razzak found that below the raised platform of the *Daṇḍanāyaka's* office in his court, during the reign of Deva Rāya II, the mace-bearers stood drawn up in a row on each side, standing sentry.[50] These maces were used even later during the days of Tirumala Nāyaka of Madurai where in the Pudu *Maṅṭapa*, mentioned earlier, guarding the twenty-two richly clad women are two eunuchs with clubs in their hands.

More impressive than these mace-bearers are the sculptures of common beggars. An old beggar, bearded, bowed with years, is bending naturally, extending his right hand opened for alms while with his left he holds an umbrella resting on his shoulder, marvellously human.

Sculpture and the Role of Women

The women in Vijayanagara, apart from being good looking and even beautiful,[51] could ride horses, as Nicolo dei Conti has borne out[52] and corroborated by the panels. At Vijayanagara and at Śrīśailam sculptures bear out Nicolo Conti fully. They are shown riding horses which are smaller than those ridden by men, the former probably country bred while the latter were imported Arab steeds. Their saddles, instead of being larger like those used by men, are smaller intended for ladies.[53] Paes found that in the capital women could wield the sword and shield, blow trumpets, other instruments, were employed as bearers and for other offices inside their gates, just like the officers of the king's household.[54] This was in no way an exaggeration as sculptures of women in Vijayanagara reveal them wielding the bow and arrow, shooting beasts of the forest and relishing a hunt. Paes also noticed their representations during the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya for "Passing this chamber" he says, "along the same corridor in front was a chamber which this king (Kṛṣṇa Deva) commanded to be made, on the outside were figures of women with bows and arrows like amazons." This was in the Hoysaḷa tradition of sculptures at the Hoysaḷeśvara temple at Haḷebīḍ, but this is not strange for the Vijayanagara rulers were after all their cultural and political descendants. Such valiant women were also found at Vijayanagara on many a frieze, as for example, on the panels of the platform of the House of Victory comprising of three stages, the lowest being 32 feet and the uppermost being 78 feet in height. As though corroborating Paes and Nicolo dei Conti, in a panel on the House of Victory we see an amazon holding a bow longer than herself in her left hand, supporting herself on it, while she rests her right hand on a puny servant who attends to her right leg which she has raised and she stands only on her left leg. Such a sculpture reappears in the Acyuta Rāya's temple. This indirectly reveals that the institution continued during the reign of Acyuta Rāya.

Women in other poses can also be seen on Vijayanagara friezes. In those

carvings women stand beside their queens, evidently watching but without any weapons in their hands. Sometimes a mother stands holding her child on her hips, depicting a very natural and human feature of domestic life.

Sculpture and Pastimes

The people of Vijayanagara were fond of sports but more of out-door than of in-door pastimes. In the latter category their games were dice,[55] chess,[56] puppet-play[57] which they knew very well but they are not seen on their walls nor can we see falconry[58] with which they were familiar. The citizens of Vijayanagara were fond of "fowling and hunting" as borne out by Nicolo Dei Conti,[59] Barbosa[60] and Nuniz.[61] There were reserved hunting grounds for sport.[62] Hunting was patronised by kings and also queens. Harihara was a "mighty hunter" of the forest,[63] Deva Rāya went to Māchanahaḷḷi for hunting[64] and Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya was accompanied by Viśvanātha Nāyaka with others when the latter slew with stroke of his sword a wild bison advancing on the emperor.[65] Hunting was evidently of tigers, boars, deer and elephants, but the sculptures of the last, namely elephant hunting, are seldom noticed. But inscriptions of course mention monarchs like Harihara,[66] Deva Rāya II,[67] Acyuta Rāya,[68] Virūpākṣa,[69] Veṅkaṭapati[70] who are either recorded to have witnessed the elephant hunt or are called 'Elephant Hunters' in their inscriptions. Sometimes nobles like Nañjaya Rāya of Ummaṭṭūr in 1504[71] and Vīra Cikka Woḍeyar in 1511[72] were also honoured with such distinctions. But it is surprising why no sculptures of elephant hunting have come light yet although elephants otherwise are found in plenty on their friezes.

Hunting of Tigers with Dogs in Sculpture

Unlike elephant hunting, hunting tigers especially with dogs is noticed on Vijayanagara panels. In Deva Rāya's days, one Gopa Rāja and his son Tippaya, had tigers seized, brought for hunting them at the indispensible bastion of a new fort called Rāja Gaṁbhīra which he had erected in Tekal.[73] This usage continued for centuries. Nuniz heard in the 16th century the tradition that king "Deorao (Deva Rāya) had gone to Vijayanagara, which was once a hunting ground,[74] to hunt with his dogs and appurtenances of the chase.[75] Nuniz also learnt how his dogs had caught for him a tiger and a lion, which never existed in Vijayanagara. There can be no doubt that dogs were employed in hunting for an inscription of 1434 speaks of the hound Saṁpige utilised in hunting tigers, and that it seized a tiger's tail and dragged it along to frighten it of its life.[76] It was heard of again when, after seizing a tiger and ripping open its neck, it roamed about in various places.[77]

Such hunting dogs can be seen on Vijayanagara panels chasing animals. Sometimes a huntsman leads two sleek hounds on the leash to a forest filled with deer, wild boars and tigers. The dogs are carved with the lightness of a pencil or a brush on this rough granite but still is visible in them a quaint and vibrant vitality. At

other times two dogs are attacking a deer carved with the genuine insight into the canine character. In another sculpture dogs have set a whole herd of deer astir by assaulting them, so that the hunter might aim at least at one of them successfully.

Other Ways of Hunting Tigers—Sculptural Representation

There were other means of hunting tigers as can be observed in Vijayanagara sculptures. At times a hunter, single-handed and alone, met or rather faced a tiger and pierced it with his dagger recalling how Saḷa slew the tiger, a scene commemorated on the Hoysaḷa crest and Vijayanagara panels. Sculptures sometimes depict such hand to mouth combats. There is such a sculpture interspersed between four dancing girls. The man with a closely fitting probably steel-cap is kneeling with his right leg bent and his left knee touching the earth while he rests his left hand on his hip and holding what looks like a large dagger, which he thrusts into the tiger's mouth. How coolly this hunter is going about this adventure, how well the tiger has been carved with its innate ferocity can be seen on this rough granite. The fierce tiger with its half-open ferocious mouth, large gleaming eyes, its long natural tail, looks as if it is preparing to spring on its destroyer. The posture of its legs, its form and its features make it an excellent study from real life.

Sculptures of Ladies Hunting

Kannaḍa contemporary poets commemorated the existence of women huntresses in the 16th century. The poet Virūparāja (1519) in his poem *Tribhuvana Tilaka* describes how "the group of huntresses went by with teeth whose shining equalled that of the corners of eyes, with their lips which excelled the feet in redness, with their body lustre which made the blackness of a tuft of hair lower in estimation."[78] Another poet Sāḷuva (1550) tells us how they accompanied their male hunters, gracefully. He relates "The hunting women besides their hunting men looked as if the Lotus-Born (Brahmā) lovingly created them out of the essence of darkness of a rainy night, by polishing them with the dust of eye-ointment and inserting the lightning of the rainy season into their eyes. Such were the graceful female forest-walkers, the huntresses."[79] The sculptures corroborate this poetic evidence admirably. Sometimes a woman faces a tiger all alone. Four women are represented as out hunting in a wood, full of deer, tigers and wild bears. One of the ladies stands undaunted piercing a tiger, with a long-armed spear, but the tiger as fierce as ever, has raised itself on its haunches and opening wide its mouth, placed its front legs on the front portion of that spear which the woman projects. She holds it with both her hands but she has extended her left hand to three-fourths of the spear while she is waiting quite alert to punch the tiger dead. It is a remarkable feat and the sculptor has executed it creditably.

Tigers were also attacked from horse-back in Vijayanagara times. There is a

sculpture of a horseman attacking a tiger. A rider with a flat cap on a fully saddled horse is seen fearlessly attacking the beast. The horse furiously uprisen on its haunches has flourished naturally its tail while the brute as fiercely has sprung on its haunches too and is about to pounce on the startled steed with its jaws wide open. The undaunted hunter clasping the reins of his horse in his left hand, with his right hand plunges a long spear into the tiger's yawning throat. This is indeed a very realistic sculpture, reflecting credit on the sculptor's skill and his knowledge of tiger hunting. As can be seen from both these sculptures both men and women seem to have employed a long spear in hunting tigers either on foot or from horse-back.

Deer Hunting in Sculpture

That deer hunting existed in Vijayanagara cannot be doubted. In 1474 Vīra Haryaṇṇa invited his suzerain Lord Virūpākṣa to a great deer hunt.[80] In 1505 another nobleman Cikka Rāya Oḍeyar was celebrated for his sports with elephants and deer. The sculptures corroborate this type of hunting wonderfully. In a sculpture a nobleman is trying to run down a lovely deer. A servant stands near holding a quiver ready for his master. This hunter, clad in his usual costume, is about to shoot with his bow and arrow. His two hounds have already disturbed the peaceful herd and what a tremor there is among these lovely animals! They have been so frightened that they are all seen scattering themselves in so many ways and the sculpture depicting them is truly very realistic. The sculptor's skill is seen not only in portraying the forest so unlike the heavy and unnatural foliage of the Hoysaḷa sculptors but in describing the perturbed herd and even in this uproar two deer at the other end of this herd are clashing their horns against each other quite unconscious of this wild disturbance! At other times a hunter attacks a deer herd approaching him. He has already despatched his arrow yet the leader of this crowd is not frightened while its companions are dispersed in utter consternation.

Boar Hunting in Sculpture

Boar hunting was certainly known in Vijayanagara days. In 1425 in a triumphant boar hunt, the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Vīra Pārvatī Rāya Oḍeyar, riding his horse Pārvatīnātha in a hunting plain in the Terukunāmbi kingdom, which he was then ruling, saw a boar, crossed over a ditch in order to seize it and probably slew it for one Haryaṇṇa set up a pillar of victory as a signal stone.[81] In Mallikārjuna's temple in some sculptures, probably of his time, there are carved incidents of his boar-hunting.[82] During the reign of Veṅkaṭa II, his sister's son presented Fr Alberto Laerzio and his company, besides other gifts, a wild boar which his brother had brought after a hunting expedition.[83]

Sculptural representations of boar-hunting in Vijayanagara are fortunately

extant. Panels from Śrīśailam in the Mallikārjuna temple reveal an immense boar, shot at by a lady standing with her bow and arrow. The gigantic boar which, throttled by a comparatively small dog of the chase, has before it a riding huntsman who also attacks it with a spear. The background is plain but the figures are full of naïve suggestions.[84]

But there is a better panel in the same temple in which a mighty boar is furiously speared by two adventurous and intrepid young women, probably princesses as they, while riding on horseback, are accompanied by two riding horsewomen.[85] Here too the hound is on the nape of the boar and in all likelihood such hunting dogs were trained to attack their prey in that manner as this mode of canine attack is seen for the second time in contemporary sculpture. Both the ladies from behind and in front with long spears pierce the very neck of the boar which has risen on its haunches and turned to hurl itself on the princess piercing it from behind. Excepting the fore-legs of the horse, which unfortunately look rather too wooden and stiff, the entire sculpture is instinct with life and vitality. At Vijayanagara also, many a panel reveals such women hunting boars in the woods.

Comparison with Hoysaḷa Forest and Boar Hunting in Sculpture

The forest of the Vijayanagara sculptor was not like that of the Hoysaḷa engraver who filled it with conventional vines and heavy leaden figures. There are of course the artificial trees for much in Indian art is formal but the trees carved on Vijayanagara panels are certainly more life-like and natural than the heavy and unnatural Hoysaḷa vines.[86] To the Vijayanagara craftsman the forest was not only full of dangerous objects and things but also filled with pit-falls like wells and ponds, whose existence in conformity with ancient practice, he indicated or suggested by a cross. Such a device cannot by any means be ascribed to Jesuit or Catholic influence for it can be traced on Buddhist coins. Hunting in Vijayanagara of animals was not executed with the shield as in a battle-field but it is seen in such a sculpture on a slab in the Tripurāntaka temple at Beḷgāmve. Here the whole sculpture is so overwhelmed with an elaboration of Procrustean detail that it has absorbed the very life of the entire carving. Here the lion, which the engraver perhaps never saw in his life, is a creature of the sculptor's fancy, not a denizen of the forest and has therefore in its aspect a greater ferocity than is natural to it. The king is better executed but he wears a rather too thick a sacred thread and his posture of attack is much inferior and certainly less natural than in the Vijayangara sculptures. The dogs, which are flying about the lion's face and tail, have a sad touch of artificiality and bear little resemblance to the sleek Vijayanagara hounds. The wild hog of Beḷgāṁve is much better carved and almost resembles its natural prototype. Yet the two main figures of the king and the lion, far from being absorbed in the intensity of a life and death struggle as is so clearly visible in the Vijayanagara friezes, are sadly made to gaze at some onlooker, thus betraying an unnatural stiff-

ness in the whole sculpture. This Hoysaḷa king, probably Someśvara II, once out boar-hunting slew a tiger in the bargain. The story portrayed in the sculpture is not identical with that given in the Gadag inscription.[87]

Costume in Sculpture

Costume figured prominently in Vijayanagara sculpture. Its aspects cannot be realised unless we compare it with its details from contemporary travellers. Abdur Razzak found that Deva Rāya "was clothed in a robe of *zaitun* satin and had round his neck a collar composed of pure pearls of regal excellence, the value of which a jeweller would find it difficult to calculate."[88] Varthema (1503-7) relates how, when king Narasiṁha went to fight, he wore "a quilted dress of cotton and over it he put on another garment full of golden *piasters* having all round it jewels of various kinds."[89] According to Paes, Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, when sitting with Christovão de Figueiredo in his court, was clothed with certain white clothes embroidered with many roses in gold and a *pateca* of diamonds of great value and on his head a cap of brocade in fashion like a Galician helmet, covered with a piece of fine stuff but he was bare-footed.[90]

In sculptures we find the costume of the kings and queens but it is, owing to the nature of the hard granite, difficult to determine its real nature precisely. On the friezes of the Victory Platform we find a king (probably Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya) in different situations but his costume cannot be seen in its true texture. In the images of kings and also of their feudatories, we find them wearing short clothes, evidently unstitched and like the present day *veṭṭi* or *dhoti*. In earlier sculptures like that of Siṁhaviṣṇu we find him without any covering above his waist, while images of the Coḷa king Rājarāja also depict him in a similar costume. Similarly Viṣṇuvardhana, the Hoysaḷa ruler, is shown as wearing such a *dhoti* but it seems to have been far more elaborate than in the previous cases. In the cases of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya and Tirumala Rāya too the costume was almost identical. Veṅkaṭapati II also wore a similar cloth but in a different style. These clothes must have been of silk and a king like Acyuta Rāya wore them "sweetly decorated" only once. "His clothes" says Nuniz, a traveller, "are silk clothes (*pachōiis*) of very fine material and worked with gold, which are worth each one, ten *pardaos*; and they wear at times *bajuris* of the same sort, which are like shirts with a skirt."[91] They also wore breeches which, as Varthema thought, were donned by them "after the fashion of sailors."[92] The clothes, which the kings wore, were used only once and when they took them off, they were delivered to certain officers who had charge of them and rendered an account of them. Those garments were never given to any one else and this was considered "to show great state."[93]

The Costume of the Nobles in Sculpture

The nobles of the Vijayanagara court wore more or less a similar dress. Barbosa found their costume thus: "The costume of the men is from the waist downwards with many folds and very tight, and a short skirt which reaches half-way down the thigh, made of white cotton stuff, silk or brocade, open down front, small caps of silk on their heads and the hair gathered upon the top, some wore caps of silk or brocade and their sandals on their bare feet, cloaks of cotton stuff or silk on their arms, and their pages with their swords behind them, and their bodies anointed with white sandal, aloes wood, camphor, musk and saffron, all ground together with rose water. And they take a second page, who carries for them a slender canopy with a long handle with which to shade them and protect from the rain. These shades are of silk stuff, much ornamented with gold fringes and some of them have jewels and seed pearls, and made in such manner that they shut and open; and some of these cost three or four hundred gold pieces, according to the quality of the persons."[94] The lesser chiefs in the provinces followed a similar practice. The chief of Onore (Honnāvara) in 1502, according to Varthema, was "quite naked with the exception of a cloth about his middle."[95] Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, the chief of Ginji, wealtheir and more gorgeous, wore "a long silken garment" his long hair tied in a knot on the crown with pearls."[96] At Ikkeri Pietro Della Valle found that Vitula Sinay (Viṭṭhala Sheṇoy) and his companions of Veṅkaṭappa's court were all clothed in white garments of very fine silk above which they dangled "coloured shawls, so that the white colour appeared here and there."[97]

Most of these attributes of Hindu costume can be seen in their sculptures of nobles in some images of the Nāyakas in the Pudu *Maṅṭapam* at Madurai, and others at Vijayanagara itself. The cloaks they wore are not illustrated in the Madurai images where the Nāyakas wore nothing above the waist which was fastened with a triple-banded girdle to hold fast a garment probably silken as borne out by the eye-witness travellers, covering the legs up to the ankles. This garment does not look partitioned like a broad gown whose edges the sculptor has carefully carved.[98] Sometimes as in Tirumala's statue a portion of the girdle-strap dangles in the centre of the front of this lower garment. But in Vijayanagara the nobles wore a coat-like upper cloak covering both hands to the wrists and stretching almost to the knees. Below this from the waist downwards they wore a similar costume but covering only half the knees. Specially clear-cut curves of both these cloaks are visible in some of their sculptures. A noble in a sculpture wears no girdle. The distinction between the dress of such a noble and the Madurai Nāyakas is apparent. If the travellers could be depended upon, the colour of these cloaks must have been white.

Another garment, which they held in their hands, as in the case of Vitul Sinay, was the shawl which was coloured as though to give a variety to their costume. The nobles of Vijayanagara, as their sculptures reveal, flung this on their left shoulder from where it dangled downwards, ending in broad triangular folds. The

statues of the Madurai Nāyakas also disclose how this shawl trailed in this fashion. If Tirumala Nāyaka's statue is closely examined, it can be seen that he does not fling it down from his left arm as a noble speaking to a commoner does in a Vijayanagara sculpture but he has tied it up and both its ends have trailed in front of him in broad symmetrical folds. As its rich borders are discernible towards its end, it may be inferred that it must have been of an expensive material. Still this shawl was sometimes, as in this case, tied round the waist for this resembles exactly what is done by the commoner in the Vijayanagara sculpture mentioned already. Later during the reign of queen Maṅgāmbāḷ, her *Daḷavāyi* for example flung his shawl down his shoulders in front by supporting it on the back of his neck. Such a custom prevails in South India even today.

Costume of the Common People in Sculpture

The dress of the common people was keenly noticed by contemporary sojourners. Nicolo dei Conti, one of the earliest visitors to Vijayanagara, remarked: "Almost all both men and women wear a linen cloth bound round the body so as to cover the front of the person and descending as low as the knees and over this a garment of linen or silk which, with the men, descends to just below the knees and with the women to the ankles. They cannot wear more clothing on account of the great heat . . ." Wool was very little used but, as there was great abundance of flax and silk, they used them for their garments.[98] In 1504 Varthema found that, while "men of condition" wore a short skirt and on their head a cloth of gold and silk in "the Moorish fashion" alluding to their caps (*kullāyi*) about which more will be said presently, "the common people went quite naked with the exception of a piece of cloth about their middle."[99] In 1583 Linschoten found that their apparel was "like that of the Gusurates (Gujarātis) and Benianes (Baniyās)."[100]

Most of these characteristics noted by the foreign visitors are preserved in their sculptures and also paintings. On looking at the sculptures nothing is better exemplified. The person, who salutes an apparent noble, a drummer carved in stone, a beggar begging with an umbrella in one hand, the men goading an elephant to trample a criminal to death, huntsmen in a forest—all wear nothing above the waist. Such a practice still prevails in many parts of the South chiefly owing to climatic conditions, although their poverty too cannot be ruled out as one of the reasons causing such paucity of cloth.

Elephant riders wore a similar costume although it cannot be clearly perceived on the sculptures. Paes saw them and noted "On the back of each of them (the elephants) there are three or four men dressed in their quilted tunics."[101] This was how they rode out to battle. The infantry, as their sculptures reveal, wore only a piece of cloth round their waist, held fast by a girdle and nothing above it. This loose cloth, now generally known as the *dhoti* (*veṭṭi*) was worn in folds which are clearly portrayed in the case of a beggar holding an umbrella but this could have

been possible if the cloth was of sufficient length. If it was shorter, it was simply wrapt round the body below the waist as in the case of a man saluting a nobleman. This sculptural representation is well supported by what Pietro Della Valle saw in the Uḷḷāḷ (in South Kanara Dt., Karnāṭaka) Court. Writing about the Uḷḷāḷ queen's retinue, he observes that she came with "four or six foot-soldiers before her and all of which were naked after their manner saving that they had a cloth over their shame and another like a sheet worn across the shoulders like a belt; each of them had a sword in his hand or only a sword or buckler."[102] This shawl to which Della Valle refers is flung on the left shoulder and trailing down on the left arm of the noble it is seen simply tied round his waist, rather loosely. This is confirmed again when Della Valle makes a similar observation regarding Vitula Sinay.[103]

Head-gears in Sculpture

Some notice had already been taken of the head-gears (*kullāyi*) worn by the Vijayanagara emperors and of its possible derivation. During 1503-7 Varthema saw how the famous king Narasiṁha wore a cap of gold brocade two spans in length.[104] Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's cap is plain like Tirumala's. This cap was not only plain but also decorated with commendable restraint. The *kullāyi* of Veṅkaṭapati II is fully ornamented with a complicated flower design, with an emblem like a *kūḍu* in front. Each of such *kullāyis* was of brocade and worth twenty cruzados and "So rich were these kings that, when Acyuta lifted it from his head, he never put it on again."[105] Prior to the advent of the Portuguese such caps were manufactured in the metropolis from Arabian brocade but after they came, the brocade was imported from Portugal. This can be inferred from Veṅkaṭa II's remark to his courtiers, who had complained to him of his leniency to the Portuguese: "This carpet on which I am sitting and you also, came from their country. *Did not this velvet cap you have on your head come from their country too*?"[106] Veṅkaṭa must have been foolish to import such material from the Portuguese who, he little realised, were not only undermining his authority and encroaching on his empire but slowly on his religion for the sole object of the Portuguese was first to establish an empire and then to convert all to Catholicism.

The royal caps were in fact not much different from those donned by others, nobles or commoners. Those worn by the common people, according to Caesar Frederick, which he called *colae* (*kullāyi*) were made of either velvet, satin, damask or scarlet.[107] According to Paes, the king's caps were covered with a scarf of delicate silk.[108]

The sculptures do not reveal this feature in the cases of the head-gears of nobles. In the carving of a noble meeting a commoner, the clear sewn partition of the cap is obvious. This line, an apparent partition, is not visible in any other sculpture of nobles seen at present and it differs from others in having two clearly distinguishable tassels. Sometimes, as in the image of Viśvanātha at Madurai, the

kullāyi is much shorter and almost flattened in the case of Tirumala Nāyaka while, in the case of Kṛṣṇappa Nāyaka, it is slightly curved at the top. They also seem to have worn helmet-like caps when hunting, with a little elevated top, as can be seen from many sculptures.

The size and shape of the head-gear was not always uniform. This can be noticed not only from the caps worn by the emperors or their feudatories but from those worn by the nobles and the common people in their sculptures.

The women generally wore a flattened cap, its top being pressed at the back, probably it must have fitted them comfortably that way. But the head-gear worn by the amazons was a comparatively shorter one with three feather-like projections in front and evidently on its sides. A similar cap was worn also by the common folk like the bloated horn-blower.

Foot-wear in Sculpture

The images of the emperors like Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya and even of the feudatories like the Nāyakas of Madurai hardly reveal any kind of foot-wear but does this imply that in Vijayanagara or its empire the people wore no such protection for their feet? An inscription of 1375 discloses that shoemakers were taxed.[109] Foreign visitors noticed such foot-gears. Barbosa unlike Varthema states categorically that people in Vijayanagara put on sandals.[110] Paes saw them too for he observes that "The shoes have pointed ends, in the ancient manner and there are other shoes that have nothing but soles but on top are some straps which help to keep them on the feet. They are made like those of old which old Romans were wont to wear as you will find on figures in some papers or antiquities which come from Italy."[111] In spite of this unimpeachable evidence of the use of foot-wear in Vijayanagara times, it is intriguing why it is glaringly absent in their sculptures. Probably in the cases of their rulers, their images being devoted to religious purposes like their installation in temples, they were not depicted or even in their sculptures on their shrines. But an exception proves the rule. The only instance of a man wearing wooden sandals is found carved on a rock to the left when one has climbed half the Mataṅga Parvata.

The Costume of the Women in Sculpture

The costume of the Vijayanagara women has been faithfully depicted by the Vijayanagara craftsmen. Barbosa saw how the women dressed themselves in 1504. There were different types of women: queens, wives of the nobles, common women and the dancing girls. Without distinguishing them, Barbosa describes their dress thus: "The women wear a cloth of very fine cotton or of silk of pretty colours which may be about six cubits long; they gird themselves with part of this cloth from the waist below, and the other end of the cloth they cast over shoulder and the breasts

and one arm and the other shoulder remains uncovered."[112] Paes in 1520-22 found that the "Maids of Honour" of the queens had "very rich and fine silk cloths . . . these women came every day most richly attired, taking pleasure in showing themselves in such things and in making a display of what she possesses."[113] In 1583 Linschoten saw what the Brāhmaṇ women wore and he observes: "The women when they go forth have but one cloth about their bodies; which covereth their heads and hangeth downe upto their knees; all the rest of the body is naked."[114]

How exactly this loose cloth, now called the *sāri*, about which those aliens speak, can be realised by looking at their sculptures. In the images of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya and his queens, the sculptor has splendidly brought out the folds of the *sāri* spreading in front at the ankles in a dimpled semi-circle of exceeding charm. This was no novelty in Vijayanagara days for it was the practice during the Hoysaḷas too. Queen Śāntale too wears her *sāri* in a similar manner. At Madurai also in the painting, which depicts queen Maṅgāmbāḷ, she too is dressed like a typical Vijayanagara queen. In the temples at Mūḍabidri, Bārkūr and Mangalore, according to the sculptures such a usage was in vogue. Such a *sāri* at its best can be seen in the image of a queen found in the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple in which the lines of her *sāri* are beautifully engraved.

The wives of the noble women followed the illustrious examples of their empresses as can be noticed from their statues near the various Nāyakas at Madurai and in the sculptures of Vijayanagara itself in many temples. The costume of the dancing girls was sensuous. They wore, as the sculptures show, nothing above the waist while they covered their limbs below the waist with what are now known as the *salwār* or *pyjāmā* and over it a skirt. Such a costume can be seen in several of their sculptures in the capital itself.

The amazons wore a strange type of skirt, covering only half of their limbs while, like the dancing girls, they left their breasts uncovered. In this respect their dress was similar to that of the dancing girls. The amazons can be noticed in several of the sculptures at Vijayanagara on many of the panels of the Victory Platform. Next to their skirts below the waist, like the dancing women, they must have worn a short *salwār* which is not visible in the sculptures.

The poor women donned their *sāris* in more or less the same manner like their richer and more fortunate sisters, the queens and the wives of the nobles and feudatories. Sometimes the creases and the shawl-like projection of *sāris* are seen but generally they are absent in their sculptures. Evidently the less wealthy could not afford to imitate the style of the royalty or the nobility. But in so far as the portion above the waist, like the dancing girls and the amazons, it was left uncovered as a general rule.

Head-gears of the Women in Sculpture

In Vijayanagara the women either left their heads bare or covered it with caps

they called the *kullāyi,* which their men also wore. Barbosa in 1504 noticed how they left "their heads bare, only their hair combed and they put a plait of it over their heads and in this many flowers and scents."[115] On ceremonial occasions, like the annual review witnessed by the emperor, the "Maids of Honour", according to the eye-witness Paes, they had on the head "high caps, which they called *collaes* (*kullāyi*) and on them they wore flowers made of large pearls."[116] Linschoten noticed how the ladies covered their heads with their *sāris*[117] as is done in Maharashtra even today in the country-side. Their *kullāyi* was not worn by women on all occasions as can be seen from the various sculptures.

Coiffures of the Women in Sculpture

When the *kullāyi* cap was not worn, the coiffures of the Vijayanagara ladies could be seen on several sculptures. As Barbosa found it, their hair was tied in a knot behind the head or gathered on the top[118] as several sculptures of the period bear witness. It was also plaited and simply let loose as in the case of the two women playing a sort of basket game. The former style must have been more common because it is noticed more often in the sculptures. There can be no doubt that their hair must have been tied up in good taste for Nicolo Conti observed that their women had different styles of adorning the hair. "The manner of adorning is various but for the most part the head is covered with a cloth embroidered with gold, their hair being bound up with a silken cord."[119] This might have been true of their hair styles but it is seldom found in their sculptures. This traveller continues that "in some places they twist up the hair upon the top of the head, like a pyramid, sticking a golden bodkin in the centre, from which golden threads, with pieces of cloth of various colours interwoven with gold, hang suspended over the hair, some wear false hair, of a black colour, for that is the colour held in the highest estimation. Some cover the head with leaves of trees painted, but none paint their faces with the exception of those who dwell near Cathay."[120] A similar practice more or less was followed by the soldiers as will be shown forthwith. Such usages are not found in the sculptures where the women have their hair either tied up in a ball behind their head on their napes or let loose in plaits behind on the back.

Feminine Foot-wear

Like the men the women too wore foot-wear without any doubt although its existence cannot be traced with much success in their sculptures. Nicolo Conti is explicit about its prevalence for he states clearly that in some places the women had shoes made of thin leather, ornamented with gold and silk."[121] Later in 1504 Barbosa corroborated him admirably thus that they wore "on their feet sandals of gilt and well-worked leather."[122] Later Linschoten also observed these shoes for he refers to their cut shoes: "with cut toes and fastened above their naked feet which they called

alparcas" which were also worn by men.[123] The sculptures hardly reveal any signs of such shoes or any other type of foot-wear. What could have been the reason? The women the foreign visitors saw must have been in the city and the provinces moving about in the streets but in the sculptures and on religious occasions like the *Mahānavami* Day when Paes was present, or in the cases of dancing girls in their different dancing poses pictured so often on their sculptures, they could not have worn any foot-wear for their appearances were on religious occasions when such foot-wear is still not worn.

Ornaments of Women

In the sculptures invariably women are found with their ornaments and it is necessary to know their nature before examining them in more detail. The *Mānasāra* furnishes a catalogue of twenty-nine types of jewels with their respective names, some of which have already been mentioned when dealing with the ornaments of men (cf. ante). That text describes them from the crest ornament (*kirīṭa*) down to the foot-jewel (*pādajāla*),[124] which was a net-like jewel worn on the feet. In 1420-21 Nicolo Conti observed this love of jewellery among the Vijayanagara people. He states "By way of ornament, they wear rings of gold on their arms and on their hands; also around their necks and legs, of the weight of three pounds and studded with gems."[125] Abdur Razzak later during Deva Rāya II noted how "All the inhabitants of the country, whether high or low, even down to the artificers of the bazar, wear gold and gilt ornaments in their ears and around their necks, arms, wrists and fingers."[126] This was no exaggeration for even a horn-blower in a sculpture wears ornaments on his wrists, arms and legs. This must have been a common feature of their daily life which foreigners did not fail to notice. Barbosa noted how "They wear small gold chains and jewels round their necks and bracelets on their arms and rings on their fingers, of very valuable jewels and also many jewels in their ears of pearls and precious stones."[127] Though these were the ornaments of men generally, they were also worn by women too and in addition they had nose-rings too. They used to bore a small hole on one side of their nostrils and in it they placed a gold thread with a drop either of pearl or a ruby or a sapphire, drilled with a hole. Their ears they also bored holes to place many gold rings with pearls and precious stones and they had jewelled necklaces round their throats, bracelets on their arms of the same fashion and also strings of fine coral on their arms. They also wore many rings with precious stones on the fingers and girt over their clothes belts of gold and jewels and had rings of gold on their ankles so that to Barbosa they appeared very rich well-dressed people.[128]

Though most of these ornaments can be distinguished in the sculptures yet the nose-rings Barbosa mentions are hardly visible, probably due to the roughness of the stone on which they had to be carved and chiselled on very delicate parts of the figures of the women in general and the dancing girls in particular.

But the real splendour, variety and beauty of Vijayanagara jewellery could only have reached its zenith in the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya. There are several sculptures of this period but, though they reveal numerous types of jewellery worn by the common women, ladies of the nobility and the queens of the emperors, it is not possible to differentiate or distinguish many of these unless one could merely state that ornaments were worn on the head, neck, upper arms, wrists, bosom, the waist, ankles and the feet. Further details can only be ascertained from the eye-witness accounts of visitors like Paes. He relates how the queen's "Maids of Honour" as he calls them, during the *Mahānavami* festival, were simply overpowered with their jewellery. He records about them: "On these caps they wear flowers made of large pearls; collars on the neck with jewels of gold very richly set with many emeralds and diamonds and rubies and pearls; and besides these many strings of pearls and others for shoulder-belts; on the lower part of the arms many bracelets, with half of the upper arm all bare, having armlets in the same way on all of precious stones, which girdles hang in order one below the other, almost as far down as half of the thigh; besides these belts they have other jewels and many strings of pearls round the ankles for they wear very rich anklets even of greater value than the rest." These were all girls or maidens very fair and young, between sixteen and twenty years. So great was the "weight of the bracelets and gold and jewels carried by them that many of them could not carry them and women accompanying them assisted them by supporting them."[129] This could not have been an empty exaggeration for Nuniz, who followed Paes some time later, saw them again and noted their gorgeous jewellery: "These women are so richly bedecked with gold and precious stones that they are hardly able to move."[130] This jewellery and their gold coins were exported to Turkey as Caesar Frederick has borne out. He too remarked how people in Vijayanagara wore in their ears "great plentie of gold."[131] As these foreign observers have categorically stated that jewellery was largely prevalent there can be no doubt and almost all these details could be verified from the sculptures of the period under consideration but it is not possible to distinguish and specify each of their ornaments.

The Armed Forces in Sculpture

The Vijayanagara emperors had a vast army comprising of its several divisions. According to an inscription of Deva Rāya I (1390-91) it had "six component parts' but they are not specified. In the sculptures we can clearly distinguish four, namely, the infantry, the cavalry, the chariot-artillery and the elephant corps. The number six of the inscription was obviously an error unless we add the camel and giraffe corps which, though hardly mentioned by the foreign eye-witnesses, are nevertheless seen in the sculptures. Each of these component parts will have to be scrutinised in respect of its head-gears, costume and weapons which appear in the sculptures in different places and at various times.

The Representation of the Infantry

There were three kinds of archers according to the *Rāmarājyamu*: the archers, swordsmen and spearmen.[132] The archers can be noticed in the sculptures and they were observed by foreign eye-witness like Paes: "Of the archers I must tell you that they have bows plated with gold and silver and others have them polished and their arrows very neat and so feathered that they could not be better, daggers at their waists and battle-axes with shafts and ends of gold and silver." The shieldmen (sword-bearers) stood there, during the annual review, "with their shields with many flowers of gold and silver on them, others all covered with silver leaf-work beautifully wrought, others with painted colours, others black and you can see into them as into a mirror and their swords so richly ornamented that they could not possibly be more so."[133] What a variety indeed and what excellence of workmanship!

The archers of this period can be seen on the walls of the Hazāra Rāma temple, a group of twenty archers marching in a line. They have in their left hands uniform bows which they have raised up naturally and in the right hand each one holds an arrow. These bows are larger than those wielded by the common people, though of course the amazon women wield bows longer and larger than themselves! But this type of bow is not often found in contemporary sculpture. This carving depicting the archers is one of the most realistic in Vijayanagara art and even in South Indian sculpture. In spite of the roughness of the granite, the naturalism, the uniformity and the humanity of this group are very striking. In fact, one cannot easily forget the bows, which they carry in their hands. The smaller bows were probably utilised for hunting purposes. The longer ones were like the one half of a serpentine bracket and used only by the archers and amazons. One of the latter, near a mace-bearer, bends to her left lithely by supporting herself on a bow longer than her own self! These bows are much better carved than the Hoysaḷa bows of which their sculptor had no sense of proportion for the walls of the Hoysaḷeśvara temple at Haḷebīḍ depict kings fighting with their enemies from their chariots with bows in their hands which look rather too small for them. The Hoysaḷa sculptors had no doubt all the skill to depict all possible details which man could portray on stone but they sadly lack the realism and the animation of the Vijayanagara sculptural imagery. Rarely do any carvings of South India reveal such a natural scene of a hunter wielding a bow against a herd of deer in a forest. A servant is standing behind this hunter with the quiver ready for his master who has concentrated all his attention on bagging one animal out of that alarmed herd. When at rest, the bow in Vijayanagara was placed conveniently on the left shoulder, as in the carving of a noble calmly seated and listening perhaps to a servant holding an umbrella and talking to him. Unfortunately the exact shape of the arrow, though it looks quite traditional, cannot be well-defined or discerned.

The Swordsmen

The sculptor has not forgotten the swordsmen of the infantry. They all march in a line with their small, round shields held up in their left hands against their chest and with their right hands, shoulder likewise their swords. These weapons are not like the straight flat swords of the Hoysaḷas seen in the hands of the Hoysaḷa infantry on the walls of the Hoysaḷeśvara temple, but they are slightly curved towards the ends. They also handled swords a little bent in the middle for instance on the walls of the Mallikārjuna temple at Śriśailam.[134] This must have been indeed a dreadful weapon when wielded at close quarters. The archers in this temple carry shields just like those which are seen on the walls of the Hazāra Rāma temple so these might have been probably carved in the same period. These hold in their hands straight swords, fairly broad, pointed with a line directly and distinctly seen on them and terminating in a sharp point suggesting that they were used more for thrusting than for cutting. This resembles the Hoysaḷa broad-sword. These held in their hands swords as well as daggers which could be plunged with terrible force in a hand to hand scuffle. This dagger is triangular in shape with a loop-hole to thrust the fingers in and maintain a grip but this is not seen in pre-Vijayanagara sculptures including Hoysaḷa carvings. This weapon is a result of Islamic influence for it is a purely Muslim weapon, particularly Mughal.

On the outer sides of these shields, which are round and small, no carving can be noticed. Such shields were also used in Hoysaḷa times for it can be observed on the walls of the Hoysaḷeśvara or the Kedāreśvara temples at Haḷebīḍ. The Vijayanagara soldiers adopted this Hoysaḷa weapon of defence.

Other Weapons

Among the other weapons employed by the infantry, the sculptures show frequently the dagger or the poniard. Nuniz saw it in the days of Acyuta Rāya for he speaks of "the shieldmen with their swords and poniards in their girdles." This dagger or poniard continued to be employed during the times of the Nāyakas of Madurai as can be noticed in the images of all the ten Nāyakas in the Pudu *Maṅṭapam* there.

Another weapon of defence was the large shield about which Nuniz mentions saying "Their shields are so large that there is no need for armour to protect the body, which is completely covered."[135] No sculpture in Vijayanagara or in its provinces discloses any such large shields for the ones we see in their sculptures are invariably round so unlike the square Hoysaḷa shield which is lined from the corners and from the centre of all sides.

There are also daggers both single and double pointed found in their sculptures. There are also strange weapons like a bill-hook and another like a double ring found for instance on the walls of the Mallikārjuna temple at Śrīśailam.

Head-gears of the Infantry

All the soldiers of the infantry wore steel caps about which mention has already been made. They can be seen on most of the sculptures depicting soldiers either marching or standing still. The costume of the infantry-men can be scrutinised in more detail in the sculptures. In the Mallikārjuna temple at Śrīśailam the soldiers wear something like turbans in some cases while in others some have close cropped hair, and some others have their hair tied in a knot in front, in the style which prevailed in Keraḷa till some time ago and perhaps continues still. Longhurst suggested of course without any tangible evidence that such a coiffure was intended to represent a superior caste warriors.[136] There is no corroboration to support such a view. These warriors do not wear much clothing. This reminds us of Firishta's assertion that Hindu soldiers went to battle "quite naked and had their bodies anointed with oil to prevent their bodies being easily seized."[137] Nudity in such cases is a relative term but they were not going to battle entirely naked as the prejudiced Firishta would like us to believe and this is also not borne out by the sculptures. There is also nothing to corroborate the smearing of oil and Firishta usually cannot be relied upon. The sparse clothing seen in the sculptures of the soldiers can be corroborated for it is recorded by Taylor that "At the time when the *Padshah* came against the *Rayer*, before the capital was taken the *Rayer* sent out red garments with the message that so many as were willing to leave their families should put on those garments and prepare for war."[138] The corroboration is valuable only in support of the clothing worn by the Vijayanagara soldiery but not in regard to the red costume which is not mentioned by any independent source. It is known that Rajput soldiers used to wear saffron clothing when going to war. The steel caps of these soldiers are reminiscent of the Hoysaḷa warriors who wore no sacred thread unlike the Vijayanagra soldiers who had earrings on, like their Hoysaḷa compatriots. These foot-soldiers had to stand in front and behind them stood the cavalry and next to it the Elephant Corps.[139]

The Musketeers

Were there musketeers in the Vijayanagara army? Firishta, the chronicler, refers to musketeers as early as 1368[140] and an inscription of 1388 alludes to a match-lock bearer named Deveya Nāyaka.[141] There is a suggestion of gunpowder during Immaḍi Deva Rāya in a Sāgar inscription which records that *Mahāprabhu* Bayica Gauḍa was supplying gunpowder to the Lord of Nodaṅgiri Nāḍu.[142] Unlike Nicolo Conti, who in 1421 mentions "bombards," Paes is more specific, saying "All the ground trembles with the discharge of arms and musquets (muskets) and to see the bombs and fire missiles over the plains, this was indeed wonderful."[143] Nuniz too adds that Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya on a certain campaign against Adil Shah of Bijapur, to reconquer Rachol (Raichur) took with him several musketeers, fire-lock men and "heavy

cannon."[144] *The Bakhair of Rāma Rāya* relates how he had requested Adil Shah to shoot him down with his gun which he finally did to save him from falling into his enemy's hands.[145] This is of course false, for we know that Rāma Rāya was killed on the battle-field and his head was cut off. Firishta again states that, during the reign of Veṅkaṭa II, a noble, Jagadeva Rāya, accompanied by Gulrāja Seṭṭi at the head of 30,000 musketeers, threw themselves into a fort.[146]

In view of all this evidence the existence of musketeers in the Vijayanagara army must have been a reality. They seem to exist in some of their sculptures. We see occasionally soldiers carrying, while shielding themselves with their round shields, which appear rather too small for any defensive purposes, on their shoulders a weapon which looks like a staff but it was in all likelihood a musket. Certainly without any point, it could never have been a lance or spear.

The Cavalry

As noted earlier the cavalry stood behind the infantry. It is often heard of in Vijayanagara and in 1447 an inscription discloses that grass was supplied to horses from lands specially exempted from all taxes.[147] Their existence is confirmed by the eye-witness Paes who saw them on the Annual Review Day. He says: "The cavalry were mounted on horses fully caparisoned and on their foreheads plates, some of silver but most of them gilded, with fringes of twisted silk of all colours and reins of the same. (The reins were not of leather but of silk twisted into ropes). Others had trappings of Mecca velvet, which is velvet of many colours with fringes and ornaments; others had them of other silks such as satins and damask and others of brocade from China and Persia. Some of the men with the gilded plates had them set with large precious stones and on the borders lace-work of small stones. Some of these horses had on their foreheads, heads of serpents and of other animals of various kinds made in such a strange manner that they were a sight to see for the perfection of their make . . . Their head-pieces are in the manner of helmets with borders covering the neck and each has its piece to protect the face; they are of the same fashion as the tunics. They wear on the neck gorgets (*cofos*) all gilded, others made of silk with plates of gold and silver, others of steel as bright as a mirror. At the waist they have swords and small battle-axes and in their hands javelins with the shafts covered with gold and silver. All have their umbrellas of State made of embroidered velvet and damask, with many coloured silks on the horses. They have many (standards with) white and coloured tails and hold them in much esteem--which tails are horses' tails."[148]

The Uniforms of the Cavalry men

The cavalry men had a certain type of uniform whose details can only be known from travellers who had actually seen them. Paes tells us that on the Review

Day parade, they had a certain type of costume: "The horsemen were dressed in quilted tunics, also of brocade and of every kind of silk. These tunics are made of layers of strong raw leather and furnished with other iron plates that make strong; some have these plates gilded both inside and out and some are made of silver."[149] The horsemen invariably wore the typical and usual *kullāyi* which, though generally straight, was twisted or bent at the top as well.

Sculptural Representation of the Cavalry

All these cavalry men with their horses can be seen in the Vijayanagara sculptures. Take for example the mounted archers. In one of the panels of the Mallikārjuna temple at Śriśailam such mounted archers are visible in action. But these archers are all portrayed here in one stereotyped fashion, sadly lacking that variety and vitality which so often manifest themselves on the panels of Vijayanagara. The four horses have all raised their forefeet when gallopping forward. The first and the second horses from the left are of one type with distinctly carved manes which are perhaps curled on the other side but, though having reins, they have long shields unadorned, covering the limbs of the horses above their legs.[150] All these mounted bowmen, riding forward, leave the horses to themselves and with both hands shoot Parthian-like behind. Without systematic training for battle and unless the riders were endowed with extraordinary skill in managing their horses and in shooting with their bows at their foes, no such equestrian feats would have been possible.

Mounted swordsmen are found in many sculptures in the city itself. The most remarkable feature about these carvings is that their variety is inexhaustible. In fact in Vijayanagara rarely are two horses carved alike in one and the same posture. On a panel depicting five mounted soldiers, the foremost horse is slowly marching onward, the next has raised its forelegs, as though leaping forward, while the fifth one is in a slightly different pose.

These horses have different types of saddles. Some have a round one like the last but one in one group. These saddles are similar to those on the horses ridden by women who are depicted on the panels of the Mallikārjuna temple at Śrīśailam. On Vijayanagara art therefore we find two types: the square as well as the round.

Sometimes the horses had a more elaborate equipment. In one of the hunting scenes of the Mallikārjuna temple, the horse in the centre has fine trappings with a full military saddle with four long plumes, dangling side by side.[151] Though this is not common yet the horses are portrayed with saddle-cloths, bridles, beaded collars, martingales, croppers and high-backed military saddles. These were rectangular in shape but with slightly curved ends. When hunting, as in the case of hunter on horse-back, over this saddle they put a round seat and so made him sit fairly high evidently against any eventuality of accident in the forest. When actully marching to battle, all the horses were fully protected up to the neck with a

covering probably of hide according to Paes. While examining these saddles, round and square, the stirrups cannot be neglected, especially of kings. The horses of such rulers had collars which were also adorned.

Costumes of the Cavalry men

The cavalry men had a typical uniform. They wore the cap *kullāyi* which though not generally straight, was also twisted or bent on the top. They also wore the ear-rings (*kuṇḍalas*) in their ears, necklaces (*upagrīvas*) on their necks, *hṛṇmālās* on their breasts and *keyūras* on their wrists. They donned short-sleeved tunics of different colours. Below this they wore coloured garments which look like trousers and they are no doubt the breeches referred to by the travellers like Paes. At the neck some of the soldiers had in front two tapes crossing each other and disappearing beneath the armpits and reappearing on the breast. They also wore belts.

The Weapons of the Cavalry Troops

The weapons of the cavalry trropers are no less interesting. They held in their hands long broad swords angular at the points and with fine hilts. Their spears too can be distinctly seen but they are pointed at both ends and their shape is peculiar. These lances had leaf-like points with knobs, some times one and occasionally also three behind this leaf-like design at both ends. This weapon, being of great length, must have been wielded with terrible effect at close quarters. Some soldiers carried daggers too, which were either long or short. This dagger resembles very much the sword depicted in one of the *vīragals* (hero-stones) at Maṭhada Doḍḍi, attached to Kyātagaṭṭa in Maḷavaḷḷi taluka, Karnāṭaka.[152]

These cavalry horsemen can be seen in Hoysaḷa sculptures too and in comparison reveal some interesting details. The riders at the Kedāreśvara temple at Haḷebīḍ hold the small round shield seen on the Vijayanagara panels, though slightly more ornamented in the typical Hoysaḷa vein. The Vijayanagara saddle, rectangular in shape with slightly elongated sides, is purely Hoysaḷa in style. The round shield was ornamented even inside where it had a handle, to insert the hand. The collars of the steeds too were adorned. Here also appears the large-eyed complete armour of the horse which was adopted in Vijayanagara too. This saddle also displays the border or fringes hardly traceable in the Vijayanagara sculptures. In the case of the fully armoured horse, the warrior had openings to thrust his legs for convenience and also fighting purposes.

The Hoysaḷa weapons have great similarily with those of Vijayanagara. The close-fitting cap is one of such similarities. The other weapons also have many such close affinities.

The Chariot Corps

That in Vijayanagara there was a chariot corps cannot be doubted. Nicolo Conti, the earliest traveller to that city, witnessed a procession of chariots returning triumphantly from a victorious battle. He tells us how the victors "brought home by way of triumph twelve chariots laden with gold and silk to which were attached the hair from the backs of the heads of the dead."[153] A century later Paes witnessed a similar array of chariots, not returning from a battle but passing before the emperor during the *Mahānavami* review. "When these fireworks are finished" he relates "there enter many triumphal cars which belong to the captains, some of them sent by those captains who are waging war in foreign parts; and they enter thus. The first belongs to Salavatineka (Sāḷuva Timma) and they came in one after the other. Some of the cars appear covered with many rich cloths, having on them many devices of dancing girls and other human figures; there are other cars having tiers one on the top of another and others all of one kind and so in order they pass to where the king is."[154]

Sculptural Representation

These chariots moved on wooden wheels drawn by horses as the sculptures reveal. From early times there were chariots with varieties of wheels. In the Cāḷukyan Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭaḍakal two warriors are fighting each other, each seated in his chariot.[155] Similar chariots are also found at Haḷebīḍ in the Hoysaḷeśvara temple. These were two-wheeled chariots but four-wheeled ones are also found. These are characteristically ornamented and have only a plank-like seat above the wheels with nothing of the tiers about which Paes speaks. In the front sometimes sits a driver who controls the horses which in these Hoysaḷa carvings occasionally appear rather too small for the chariot to which they are attached and, in many cases, it must be admitted, as a rule they do not appear powerful enough to draw the comparatively huge structures. Behind each chariot is the flag which is supported by a kneeling Garuḍa, the faithful servant who had sworn fealty for life to his master, the king. He sits in the centre and is visible only above the waist as he shoots an arrow which is represented at a distance in three thick distinct lines. This is evidently unnatural and such a feature is unknown in Vijayanagara sculpture. Here too are sculptures of chariots in action though not often seen. In the Hazāra Rāma temple, for example, a four-wheeled chariot is seen with a king fighting with his bows and arrows. In the same temple is another chariot with six wheels carrying four persons, obviously a king and his three queens and the vehicle is moving forwards. Similarly in many temples in Vijayanagara several chariots can be noticed but probably the finest one in real action can be observed in the left wing on the ceiling of the Viṭṭhaḷasvāmi temple and it is one of the finest Vijayanagara sculptures. It is so vivid, alive and human that the curious visitor to the capital cannot forget it once he has seen it.

In all these carvings the Hoysaḷa heaviness has vanished but, despite the ruggedness of the local granite, the obvious sense of proportion, vitality and a weird power are admirable.

The Elephant Corps

Elephants have been utilised in India for warfare since antiquity and once Kauṭilya observed that "The victory of kings (in battle) depends mainly upon elephants."[156] This tradition continued to the days of Vijayanagara. In 1442 Abdur Razzak heard that Deva Rāya II had more than 16,000 elephants.[157] Nikitin, during the reign of king Vīra Narasiṁha, could hardly forget them. Describing them he notes "Elephants are greatly used in battle, large scythes are attached to ihe trunks and tusks of the elephants and the animals are clad in ornamental plates of steel. They carry a citadel and in the citadel twelve men in armour with guns and arrows."[158]

The riders of elephants wore a particular type of costume. These riders can be seen on the Vijayanagara friezes but the details of their dress or uniform cannot be ascertained. Paes, who saw them, explained: "On the back of each of them (the elephants) are three or four men dresed in their quilted tunics."[159] Nikitin had also noted that certain riders wore nothing above the waist but this could never have been during a battle.

During festivals and reviews, the elephants were richly caparisoned. Paes, who saw them on such an occasion, says "The elephants in the same way are covered with caparisons of velvet and gold with fringes and rich cloths of many colours and with bells so that the earth resounds; and on their heads are painted faces of giants and other kinds of great beasts."[160]

Sculptural Representation

In the shrines of Vijayanagara many sculptures depict elephants in different rows, simple, ornamented and sometimes in action.

The rows of elephants in the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple are generally plain. They have their typical belts, with riders sometimes even five. They have fillets on their foreheads resembling very much those in the Kedāreśvara temple at Haḷebīḍ. The Hoysaḷa elephants have rings on their legs which are rarely noticed in the Vijayanagara elephants. The monotony of the Hoysaḷa elephants is not so manifest on the Vijayanagara panels in their shapes, movements and actions. The costumes worn by the elephant-riders cannot be clearly distinguished in the Vijayanagra panels but that they wore some type of dress is clear. It would be hazardous to specify it in further detail. Occasionally one comes across a fully caparisoned elephant, probably of State, like the one employed in executing a criminal or like the one adorning the footsteps of the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple. In the case of the former, the elephant

is fully adorned and has three distinct collars: two looking like straps and the third is one of large beads. It has also chain passing beneath its tail.

Elephant Fights and Executions

As in the days of the Mughals, the Vijayanagara rulers also apparently entertained elephant fights and executions by means of them. Varthema relates how an elephant was armed and how it fought. He relates how "When an elephant goes into battle he carries a saddle in the same manner as they are borne by the mules of the kingdom of Naples, fastend underneath by two iron chains. On each side of the said saddle he carried a large and very strong wooden box and in each box there go three men. On the neck of the elephant between the boxes they place a plank, the size of half a span and between the boxes and the plank a man sits astride who speaks to the elephant for the said animal possesses more intelligence than any other animal in the world, so that there are in all seven persons who go upon the said elephant; and they go with shirts of mail, and with bows and arrows and shields. And in like manner, they arm the elephant with mail, especially the head and the trunk. They fasten to the trunk a sword, two *braccia* long or thick and as wide as the hand of a man and in that way they fight. And he who sits upon his neck, orders him "go forward !" or "turn back !", "strike this one !", "strike that one !", "do not strike any more !" and he understands as though he were a human being. But if at any time, they are put to flight it is impossible to restrain them; for this race of people are great masters of making fire-works and these animals have a great dread of fire and through this means they sometimes take to flight."[161]

There is one sculpture depicting an elephant fight as prevailed in the days of the Mughals but without any attendants to goad on the beasts.

Elephant Execution in Sculpture

The execution of criminals by elephants has fortunately been preserved in sculpture. Referring to this usage, Nuniz observes that it was one of the "more fanciful of their punishments, for when the king so desires, he commands a man to be thrown to the elephants and they tear him in pieces."[162] Paes does not refer to this practice but a sculpture portrays fully this savage usage in all its barbarism. An elephant (obviously of the State) is seen trampling on a poor criminal, tearing his left leg with its trunk and trampling with its right leg the victim's right leg, while it is goaded from behind with staves by men and women. It is an impressive sculpture and portrays the unbearable torture graphically.

Was there a Camel Corps?

If travellers could be trusted the camel also appears to have been utilised in

Vijayanagara forces. Varthema records how king Narasiṁha had in his army some dromedaries which ran with great swiftness.[163] This force must have existed in the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, and Acyuta Rāya and it seems to have had commanders. One Nāgama Nāyaka was the commander of 15,000 camels which belonged to the empire.[164] In the personal retinue of Veṅkaṭa II after those who played the flute and the "*vīṇā*-band" (players on the *vīṇā*), went numerous musicians who "rode several camels."[165]

On the walls of the House of Victory are depicted sundry camels in different postures. Sometimes a number of camels are either led by the halter by diverse people or they eat leaves from neighbouring trees. Camels are also seen on the friezes in the Mallikārjuna temple at Śrīśailam. At Vijayanagara one meets six camels in a row, some ridden by listless riders while others graze quite unconsciously. These animals have been carved naturally, proportionately and in a lively manner as though the craftsmen had known them intimately in real life.

Giraffe Corps ?

Like the camel corps was there a giraffe squad in Vijayanagara? Probably not, for seldom are those animals found in the sculptures of the city. Only on the panels of the Thousand Pillar *Basti* at Mūḍubidri, South Kanara District, Karnāṭaka, we find the giraffe depicted. It probably appeared as the result of commercial intercourse rather than any other influence.

Aspects of Social Life

Wrestling

Among the various aspects of social life depicted in Vijayanagara sculpture, wrestling is one. It was certainly popular in those times. During the region of Mallikārjuna one Mādi Gauḍa succumbed to the injuries he had received from a wrestling bout.[166] *Vīragals* (hero-stones) were set up to commemorate such events. Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, the emperor, was himself a wrestler and Paes has borne out that he wrestled daily with one of his athletes.[167] Women also participated in such games.[168] Wrestlers along with the dancing girls were the only privileged ones permitted to sit and eat *pān* (betel) before the king during the *Mahānavami*.[169] These dancing girls also wrestled.[170] The wrestling indulged in was of a dangerous type and Paes tells us that in its execution were given "blows so severe as to break one's teeth and put out eyes and disfigure faces so much that here and there men are carried of speechless by their friends." They gave one another fine falls too. During the *Mahānavami* festival one whole day was devoted only to dancing and wrestling.[171] Nuniz saw that during his visit the wrestlers struck and wounded each other "with two circlets with points which they carried in their hands to strike with." They had an umpire (*madhyasta*) to decide who was the winner and the victor was rewarded by the king with a silken scarf (*shelā*).[172] Wilks saw this game in the Mysore court and records how the

wrestlers wore a single garment "of light orange-coloured drawers, extending half-way down the thigh" and had in their right hands a weapon which he called a *caestus* "composed of a buffalo horn, fitted to the hand, and pointed with four knobs, resembling very sharp knuckles and corresponding to their situation, with a fifth of greater prominence at the end of the nearest little finger, and at right angles with the other four."[173] Ruins of gymnasia (*gariḍi*) in Vijayanagara were claimed,[174] but I could not find any traces of them. But they prevailed at Caṅdragiri during the reign of Veṅkaṭa II, and at Thanjāvūr were called the *Acyuta Raṅga Kūṭam* in one of the palaces of Vijayarāghava of Thanjāvūr.[175] Those wrestlers were called *jeṭṭis* and Du Jarric describes one of such gymnasia during the reign of Veṅkaṭa II at Caṅdragiri.[176]

Wrestling in Sculpture

Wrestling is well represented in Vijayanagara sculpture. Different carvings depict wrestlers in various postures. We sometimes see two wrestlers about to commence the bout after they had finished their prostrations. In another sculpture two wrestlers are depicted in an actual tussle and where I saw it, it was an interesting piece of art. One is entangled in the clutches of another and the intensity of this moment must have been great. These wrestlers were apparently powerful men and in the sculptures they are portrayed as stout and of excellent build. This must have been really so for Dalle Valle in Veṅkaṭappa's court at Ikkeri found those wrestlers to be "persons very stout and expert."[177] Women also, as pointed out earlier, indulged in this game and witnessed its performances. There is a sculpture in which a queen beholds with her two attendants two wrestlers about to wrestle. Unless those women were conversant with the technique of that game, they would not have been depicted as witnessing such a scene. It is difficult to distinguish the knuckle-dusters in these carvings in the hands of the wrestlers probably owing to the rough nature of the granite. That ladies also witnessed such wrestling-matches can also be seen from the pages of Wilks who relates how in the arena where the wrestlers were to commence their game, the king was seated on his ivory throne in balcony over-looking the arena and "then to the lattices behind which the ladies of the court" were seated, the to witness the combat.[178]

The Holi Festival in Sculpture

The antiquity of the Holi festival is undisputed[179] and its continuance in Vijayanagara is borne out by eye-witnesses. The pranks with the sprinkling of red or saffron water, placed by the way-side, were witnessed by travellers who noted that even the king and queen were not spared from this innocent mischief and this was received with much laughter.[180]

There is a panel depicting such a scene during the Holi festival. In the sculpture a dance is in action and an onlooker is keenly observing it. But two women

from either side have ready in their hands two pipes to spill the crimson water over the unconscious dancers and the spectators, and such a situation would have naturally caused great merriment in the entire group. The sculptor has marvellously shown how absorbed the dancers and the spectators are and simultaneously discloses how keenly the two ladies are intent on sprinkling liquid on these people.

Sati Kallu (Stones)

Sati, which had considerable antiquity, became very popular in the Vijayanagara age, reaching its zenith during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Barbosa in 1514 noted how it was practised: "Should she (widow) desire to honour her husband, she asks for a term of certain number of days to go and be burnt with him. And they bid all her relations and those of her husband come and do her honour and give her a festal reception."[181] Many of the king's "confident men" also died with him: this was an earlier Hoysaḷa custom associated with the *garuḍas* or the life-guards of the king. This is well corroborated by Barrados who saw how the wives of king Veṅkaṭa II perished with him. He says: "They went forth richly dressed with many jewels and gold ornaments and precious stones and arriving at the funeral pyre they divided these, giving some to their relatives, some to the Brahmans to offer prayers for them and throwing some to be scrambled for by people. Then they took leave of all, mounted on to a lofty place and threw themselves into the middle of the fire which was very great".[182]

Sati Memorial Stone Sculptures

Women, who perished on the funeral pyres of their husbands, invariably of their own accord, were often commemorated by memorial stones depicting such deaths, with their pictorial representations. Artistically they have not much merit but they throw some light on certain aspects of their social life. There were various types of such stones, some being known as *mahā-sati kallu* or the great *sati* stones implying that there were such memorials of lesser persons. This custom was of considerable antiquity, mentioned for example in the *Silappadikāram* (5th century A.D.) and prevalent on a considerable scale in Coḷa times. The mother of Rājarāja I having committed *sati*, her image was set up in the temple at Thanjāvūr.[183] A variation of this practice was the setting up of *sati* stones also called *māsti-kallu*. Such *sati kallu* of different times and places, slightly differed. The Hoysaḷa *sati*-stones represent in high relief a staff or post and a human arm, either of a natural size or slightly larger, projecting from the middle of it, the hand being held up straight. In the hollow between the thumb and fore-finger is often placed a lime, though it is missing in the *māstikals* of Aṅkanahaḷḷi.[184] Sometimes there are two hands projecting from the one hand and such a representation and, as the expression in the records suggests, it symbolises how a wife gave her husband "arm and hand" and it perhasp

also alludes to two wives having perished on the same pyre. This symbol of a hand is sometimes called the *Madana-kai* or the Hand of Cupid. In such a hand a lime is sometimes shown probably as a mark of respect to her deceased husband. Sometimes above this hand a couple seated side by side worship a *liṅga* and occasionally below them, are the upright figures of a pair, in which a man (husband) is depicted with one hand on his wife's shoulder and with the other holds up high in the air a sword.

In Vijayanagara *sati* came into great favour and so many *sati* stones have survived. For instance at Bārakūr here and there lie *sati* stones like those of Hoysaḷa times. There is in them the hand fully projected from the pillar (*stambha*) representing *sati*. Just at the place where the hand emerges out are seated the husband and wife, above them the *nandi* crouched and above it a *liṅga*, crowned with the sun and crescent. They are obviously Śaivite *sati* stones and in obvious imitation of such memorial stones found at Hampi when going to that place. In their upper panels is a representation of a *liṅga* on its *yoni*-pedestal and sometimes behind it a crouched *nandi* and in front of it either a devout pair or a standing worshipper flanked on either side with a sun and moon. In the lower panel are invariably noticed standing the husband and his wives, sometimes one and often many. The spouse, dressed in the typical manner, wearing all his ornaments too, devoutly folds his hands in prayer on his breast and the women, sometimes one or two have raised their hands. At times before these is represented a fine elephant into whose trunk a dwarf-like servant offers what is apparently a garland. These features are seen on a *sati* stone in front of the Gāṇigiṭṭi temple by the river Tuṅgabhadrā in Vijayanagara.[185] Sometimes on the upper panel of such a stone, the devotees with folded palms on their breasts, stand in front of the *liṅgas* flanked by two dwarf-like people.

But this hand can be seen on almost all such stones and even on the memorial stones of Gujarat.[186] The raised hand probably represented the wife who had committed *sati*. This can be substantiated from the words of a drummer's wife Gaiccammā whom Della Valle had met. She told him that it was about nineteen days since her husband's death and he had left two other wives, present during this talk, but neither of them were willing to die as they had children to look after while only she would commit *sati*.[187] Della Valle also saw prospective *satis* riding on horse-back hair unbared, with a looking glass (a symbol of power) and a lemon in either hand, an emblem of respect, singing a sort of dirge, marching through a street.[188] These features are represented on Vijayanagara *sati* stones.[189]

Other Types of Memorial Stones

Whenever people died either from involvement in a battle or as the result of a fight with cattle thieves who used to infest villages to steal cattle, or from other religious causes, memorial stones were raised in their honour. In the first two cases they were called *vīra-kallu* or hero stones. They have little artistic merit and have

nothing to commend them. They usually represent a hero sculptured rather crudely, with some women or companions, in a kind of action in one of which he was said to have been killed. In the cases of cattle raids, similar representations of heroes are drawn with some of his or their companions chasing thieves who had come to steal the cattle, some representations of which are also shown.[190]

Another type of memorial stone was the *śaṣṭava kallu* or *śaṣṭeśvara kallu*, symbolising the embodiment of *Śaṣṭa* (Pāli-*Satta*—The Great Teacher—the Buddha).[191] The above and the latter types of stones are found in Tuḷuva (South Kanara District, Karnāṭaka).[192]

From an artistic angle these memorial stones are practically without any aesthetic merit.

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4 Ibid., pl. CIII-CIV.
5 Ibid., pl. CVI.
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7 Coomaraswamy, *Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, p. 10.
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9 Varthema, *Travels*, pp. 115-16 (Temple's ed.).
10 Cf. *S.C.R.*, 1917-18.
11 Cf. Devakunjari, *Hampi*, p. 50.
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15 Ibid., pl. CIV.
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22 Ibid., p. 139, f.n. 2.
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42 Ibid., fig. 24.
43 Devanath Chariar, R., "Śrī Vaiṣṇavism and Its Caste.Marks," *Q.J.M.S.*, V, p. 132.
44 Elliot and Dowson, *History*, IV, p. 105.
45 Paes, Sewell, *F.E.*, pp. 237-38; Nuniz, ibid., 370-71.
46 Ibid., p. 237; Nuniz, Sewell, op. cit., pp. 346, 360-61.
47 Ibid. p. 361.
48 Firishta, *The Rise*, II, p. 314. This was an old custom mentioned by Kauṭilya, (*Arthaśāstra*, Bk X, ch. III, p. 396, text, p. 367). The King's minister, (*mantri*) and High Priest (*Purohita*) had to encour-

age the soldiers in the army and soothsayers and court-bards (*bhaṭa*) by stating that heaven was the goal for the brave and hell for the timid. This was an echo of the assurance given in the *Gītā* (ch. II, 37): *hato vā prāpyasi svargaṁ jitvā vā bhokṣyase mahīṁ.*: Dying thou gainest heaven, conquering thou enjoyest the earth.

49 Barbosa, *Travels*, p. 94 (Stanley's ed.).
50 Razzak, Elliot and Dowson, *History*, IV, p. 108.
51 Narasimhacharya, *K.K.*, II, p. 202.
52 Nicolo Conti, *Travels*, p. 6 (R.C. Major's ed.).
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54 Paes, Sewell, op. cit., 249.
55 *Sources*, p. 138.
56 *I.A.*, XXVII, p. 299.
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58 Cf. Firishta, *The Rise*, II, p. 405; *E.C.*, X, Mr I, L,; *E.C.*, X, Mr 3.
59 Major, *India in the 15th Century*, p. 222; also see Varthema, *Travels*, p. 125 (Jones's ed.).
60 Barbosa, *Travels*, p. 98 (Stanley's ed.).
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68 *M.E.R.*, 1913, no. 961, p. 120.
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70 Pimenta, Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, X, p. 210.
71 *E.C.*, IV, Gn 5.
72 Ibid., X, Ma 79.
73 Ibid., X, Mr 1, also see Rice, *Mysore Ins.*, no. 112, p. 208.
74 Nuniz, Sewell, *F.E.*, pp. 286-87.
75 Ibid., p. 287.
76 *E.C.*, X, Mr 2.
77 Rice, *Mysore Ins.*, no. 112, p. 208.
78 Narasimhacharya, *K.K.*, II, p. 119.
kaḍegaṇṇa kāṅtigorageyāda palgadi |
raḍigeṁpa mīridadhatara kāṅti ||
muḍigappa kīlmāḍuva maiya phogariṅda |
naḍedudu biyadaveṅgala taṇḍa |
79 Narasimhacharya, *K.K.*, II, p. 247.
kārirulu kattaleya tirulim |
vāriruhabhavaṇālidu nirmisi |
nāriyara rūhugalanañjanaañjaradi phuṭaviṭṭu ||
kāra miṅcumanavara kaṇṇolu |
serisidanene gāḍiyaru kāṅ |
tāracariyaru meradaralli |
phuliṅdarogginali ||
80 *E.C.*, III, Ml 121.
81 Ibid. IV, Ch 195.
82 *S.C.R.*, 1916,-17, pl. XII.
83 *Litterae Annual of the Province of Malabar*, 1604-6; Heras, *Āravīḍu*, I, p. 474.
84 *S.C.R.*, 1916-17, pl. XXII-B.
85 Cf. Illus.
86 Cf. Cousens, op. cit., p. 107; fig. 31.
87 *E.C.*, VIII, Sb 340.
88 Razzak, Elliot and Dowson, *History*, IV, p. 113.
89 Varthema, *Travels*, p. 53 (Temple's ed.).
90 Paes, Sewell, *F.E.*, p. 243.
91 Nuniz., Ibid., p. 363.
92 Varthema, *Travels*, p. 49 (Temple's ed.).
93 Nuniz, Sewell, op. cit., p. 363.
94 Barbosa, *Travels*, p. 87 (Stanley's ed.).
95 Varthema, *Travels*, p. 50 (Temple's ed.).
96 Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, X, p. 208.
97 Pietro Della Valle, *Travels*, II, pp. 248-49.
98 Nicolo Conti, *Travels*, p. 22; Major, *India in the 15th Century*, p. 22.
99 Varthema, *Travels*, p. 53 (Temple's ed.).
100 Linschoten, *Travels*, Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, X, p. 255.
101 Paes, Sewell, *F.E.*, p. 266.
102 Pietro Della Valle, *Travels*, p. 152 (Havers' ed.).
103 Ibid., p. 248.
104 Varthema, *Travels*, p. 53 (Temple's ed.).
105 Nuniz, Sewell, op. cit., p. 363.
106 *Fr B. Coutinho to Fr J. Alvares*, Vellore, Heras, *Āravīḍu*, I, p. 491.
107 Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, X, p. 99.
108 Paes, Sewell, op. cit., p. 243, also see pp. 259-60.
109 *E.C.*, X, Ct 94.
110 Varthema, *Travels*, p. 126 (Temple's ed.).
111 Paes, Sewell, *F.E.*, p. 243.
112 Barbosa, *Travels*, pp. 87-88 (Stanley's ed.).
113 Paes, Sewell, op. cit., pp. 263-64.
114 Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, X, p. 256.

115 Barbosa, *Travels*, p. 87 (Stanley's ed.).
116 Paes, Sewell, op. cit., p. 263.
117 Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, X, p. 256.
118 Barbosa, *Travels*, p. 23 (Major, *India*).
119 Nicolo Conti, Major, *India*, p. 23.
120 Major, *India*, p. 23.
121 Ibid., pp. 22-23.
122 Barbosa, *Travels*, p. 88 (Stanley's ed.).
123 Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, X, p. 260.
124 *Mānasāra*, pp. 67-68, Acharya, *Indian Architecture*.
125 Major, *India*, p. 23.
126 Elliot and Dowson, *History*, IV, 109.
127 Barbosa, *Travels*, p. 87 (Stanley's ed.).
128 Ibid.
129 Paes, Sewell, *F.E.*, p. 263.
130 Nuniz, ibid., p. 359.
131 Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, X, p. 99.
132 *Sources*, p. 102.
133 Paes, Sewell, op. cit., pp. 266-67.
134 *S.C.R.*, 1916-17, pl. XII.
135 Nuniz, Sewell, op. cit., p. 313.
136 *S.C.R.*, 1917-18, p. 31.
137 Firishta, *The Rise*, III, p. 137
138 Taylor, *Cat. Raisonne*, III, pp. 356-61.
139 Paes, Sewell, op. cit., pp. 264-65.
140 Firishta, *The Rise*, III, p. 312.
141 *E.C.*, VIII, Sb 483.
142 Ibid., Sa 68.
143 Paes, Sewell, op, cit., p. 268.
144 Nuniz, Sewell, op. cit., pp. 311-13.
145 This is doubtful. Couto's version (VIII, pp. 91-92) may be perferred.
146 Firishta, *The Rise*, p. 454.
147 *E.C.*, XII, Tm 52.
148 Paes, Sewell, op. cit., pp. 265-66.
149 Ibid., pp. 265-266.
150 *S.C.R.*, 1916-17, pl. XII-C.
151 Ibid., pl. XII-B.
152 *E.C.*, III, Md 103, pl. opp. p. 34 of Intro.
153 Nicolo, Major, *India*, p. 32.
154 Paes, Sewell, op. cit., pp. 261-62.
155 Cousens, *Chālukyan Architecture*, pl. XLIV.
156 Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, Bk II, ch. II, p. 49, text, p. 49.
157 Razzak, Major, *India*, p. 22.
158 Major, op. cit., p. 12.
159 Paes, Sewell, op. cit., p. 266.
160 Ibid., p. 266.
161 Varthema, *Travels*, p. 127.
162 Nuniz, Sewell, op. cit., p. 364.
163 Varthema, *Travels*, p. 51 (Stanley's ed.).
164 Rangachari, V., *History of the Nāyaka Kingdom, I.A.*, XLIII, p. 191.
165 Du Jarric, op. cit., pp. 673-74; Heras, *Āravīḍu*. I, pp. 496-97.
166 *E.C.*, VII, Sk 1.
167 Paes, Sewell, op. cit., p. 241.
168 Ibid., p. 240.
169 Ibid., p. 234.
170 Ibid., p. 258.
171 Ibid., p. 261.
172 Ibid.
173 Wilks, *Historical Sketches of South India*, p. 52, f.n. For a more detailed account of this type of wrestling see my *Indian Entertainment*.
174 Suryanarayan Rao, *The Magnificent Ruins of Hampi*, p. 47.
175 *Sources*, p. 265.
176 Du Jarric, *Thesarus Rerum Indicarum*, Cologne, 1615, I, pp. 634-35, Heras, *Āravīḍu*, I, pp. 313-14.
177 Della Valle, *Travels*, II, p. 265.
178 Wilks, *Sketches*, I, p. 52.
179 Cf. Wilks, *Modern Hinduism*, p. 256; Wilson, *The Theatre of the Hindus*, II, p. 268, f.n. 1.
180 Major, *India*, p. 29.
181 Barbosa, *Travels*, p. 93.
182 Floris, Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, III, p. 338; Satyanatha Aiyar, *Nāyakas of Madura*, p. 256.
183 Krishna Sastri, op. cit., p. 229.
184 *M.A.R.*, 1920, pl. XVII.
185 Cf. Longhurst, op. cit., fig. 12.
186 *A.S.W.I.*, 1874, p. 90.
187 Della Valle, *Travels*, II, p. 274.
188 Ibid., p. 266, f.n. 1.
189 Cf. Saletore, B.A., *SPL.*, II, pp. 88-96
190 Ibid.
191 Cf. *Amarakośa*, I, 14-15.
192 Cf. Saletore, B.A., *Ancient Karnāṭaka, Tuluva*, I, p. 377.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ORNAMENTATION AND SYMBOLISM

IN the sphere of Indian art, ornamentation and symbolism have played important roles with extremely interesting results. Indian art has invariably been associated with these two vital elements from its hoary antiquity. The earliest sculptures of the Buddhists and their paintings at Ajanta disclose how such features first appeared and they continued in different ways to affect the various schools of artistic development. In every period of South Indian architecture, the shrines have usually been adorned with manifold designs in order to produce the manifestations of beauty which were invariably effected by means or through the medium of lines, animals and symbols, arranged systematically. Of all these factors represented usually on the walls, pillars and through their iconography, in South Indian art there is probably no architecture other than that of the Hoysaḷas which executed almost to perfection with marvellous dexterity these objectives of design, ornamentation and symbolism. Their successors, the emperors of Vijayanagara, though they could not either vie with or far less excel their predecessors in any of these achievements, still hardly lost sight of them for they really lie at the root of all aesthetic achievement.

Among the symbols may be mentioned the emblems of the bull, elephant, *makara* (crocodile), water-horse (*jala-turaṅga*), water-elephant (*jala-hastin*), water-bull (*jala-nandi*), water-lion and so forth. Some of these animals were associated with divinities like Lakṣmī (Gaja-Lakṣmī), Gaṇeśa and Dakṣa, who will be dealt with later. Each of these emblems or motifs had a particular significance; the bull

was a universal symbol of virility, the elephant of strength (physical) which, when coupled with Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth, symbolised abundance and is considered auspicious. The *makara*, like the lotus (*padma*), has been thought to be an emblem of life endowed with the life-giving force, water. The snake (*nāga*), apart from its religious significance, has been reckoned a symbol of fertility. Among all these symbols, the *makara* is a hybrid representation of the crocodile, elephant, fish (*matsya*) and similar objects. The *makara* is believed to be primarily a conjoint symbol of sex like the *liṅga* (phallus), the base of which is the female genital (*yoni*) within which is imbedded the *liṅga*. The *makara-vaktra* (the mouth of the *makara*), among all these symbols, is a hybrid representation of the crocodile or some of its aspects.[1] These are the views of some Western writers. Some also believe the *makara* to be a symbol of continuous cohabitation and that hence it is "naturally represented" on the banner of Kāmadeva, the god of Love, whose constant epithet, synonym or attribute is the *makara-dhvaja*, *makara-ketu* or *mīna ketana*."[2] This has also been referred to in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*. These Western views need not necessarily be understood as gospel truths for Western art critics are invariably prejudiced or unconvincing and need hardly be taken for granted. In the cases of those symbols associated with water, that source of life, their connection or affinity with it may be usually accepted. Thus the lotus, so intimately affiliated with architectural designs or ornamentation, may be interpreted as symbolic of that life-source, water. Similarly, the vase (*kumbha*) may be interpreted to symbolize plenty for it alludes to a fullness associated with the vessel (*kumbha*) which may also be connected with water.

Geometrical Ornamentation

Vijayanagara craftsmen delighted in handling the geometrical line in the ornamentation of their temples. They carved such lines with the lightness of a brush and with the characteristic precision of a sculptor. They utilised the space between the *vedigayi* and the *akrapaṭṭiyāl* for depicting the various aspects of their social life. These panels were divided into partitions and between them arose inevitably a projection and on no two such projections are any designs identical. On these entablatures the designs are invariably of vines and rarely of flowers. Occasionally, the sculptor as though half-carelessly carved somewhat like a serpentine bracket two lines intercepting a little and some more lines behind. The result is certainly by any standard not gorgeous but the effect is clearly one of appreciable restraint. At other times, in a similar place or situation, likewise two principal lines in a curve, half serpentine, were drawn and the surrounding space thronged with leaves, which are mainly executed with the mechanism of lines. In some places, merely with the help of lines, the sculptor contrived to fashion a vase (*kumbham*) with an arresting appearance. The *kandam* was in many instances very tastefully ornamented. A long line with flowers and twigs, here and there, was engraved like an uninterrupted

wave. The flowers and twigs were invariably made to protrude at the crest of the elevation of the line in order to provide an element of harmony in this decoration. As the line rose in a curve and sloped down again, a parrot which in Vijayanagara art is always very convincingly chiselled, is placed between these places. In this arrangement, the parrot in front as a rule, is made to gaze behind at its following companion, which looks right in front. This monotony is sometimes delightfully broken when two parrots are carved back to back, of course looking behind and between them is a star-shaped flower. In other cases, between two parrots, a woman is carved only to give a touch of variety to the entire scene.

Ornamentation in the Ceilings

Other examples of this manipulation with the line in Vijayanagara art can be seen especially in their celings. Generally their form is square but they are carved inwards with a remarkable dexterity. One of the finest examples of a typical Vijayanagara ceiling is to be found in the *ardhamaṇḍapa* of the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple. It is a fascinating construction and the execution of the ornamentation with the geometrical lines is extremely attractive. Specimens of other types, though less ornamental, can also be noticed for instance in the "Lotus Mahāl". There it is a fairly large square with inward carved five stages, each one smaller than the other and the last one fully covered with a well-engraved full and large lotus (*padma*). It is no wonder that in Vijayanagara art, a flower, either the lotus or some other blossom, is associated with decorative motifs. Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador to the court of Deva Rāya II, discloses to us that the citizens of Vijayanagara had a great passion for flowers. "These people" he says "could not live without roses and they look upon them as quite as necessary as food."[3] Other types of ceilings, though of a simpler kind, can also be noticed at Vijayanagara. In them the execution of squares is skilfully arranged. They are either plain or interspersed with different designs.

The Decorative Pilaster (*Pūrṇa-Kalaśa*)

The other architectural feature affected by the line is the decorative pilaster. It is indeed a strange combination of a pavilion supported on a pillar which has a vase (*kuṁbha*) for its base. This vase which is an ancient art motif associated with fullness and plenty, is flattened at both ends, with a belt of decoration running round it, while it is carved with lines lengthwise, giving it a pleasant appearance. Just where the pillar joins it from either side, two arm-like lines are carved as though they are issuing forth from the two opened "faces of fame" (*kīrtimukha*), whose significance will be dealt with subsequently, attached on each side to the pillar itself. Probably these lines represent nothing and serve only as motifs of mere conventional ornamentation. Now above this, rose the pillar which has more

affinities with its Pāṇḍyan prototype than with any similar structure in South Indian art.[4] Over the *palagai* of this pillar were placed three capitals: one in the centre and two on the sides to support a *vimāna*, which is also graced with the images of the *kīrtimukha*.

This decorative pilaster or the *pūrṇa-kalaśa*, was no meaningless ornament. It is evidently the *pūrṇa-kalaśa* or the *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*, which was the Vase of Plenty whose antiquity in Indian literature cannot be disputed. It is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* which records how a royal city and certain halls of faultless learning had in them, in their appropriate places, full jars, new vessels with budding sprouts and statues holding lamps.[5] Such a usage prevailed in the South too: in the *Maṇimekhalai* (6th century) we find how "a thousand beautiful women from the city (Madurai) with the adornments of fair full vessels, surrounded the car containing relics."[6] Bāṇa (646) also mentions in his *Harṣacarita* how a golden vessel adorned with sprays was set up on the altar of a Brāhmaṇical temple.[7] Even later this symbol was employed. In the *Bee-Song* of Sūrdās, when the *gopis* were welcoming Udho (Uddhava) "they set before him full golden jars and circumambulated round him."[8] A decorated *kuṁbha* was considered a representation of god Varuṇa.[9] The *pūrṇa-kalaśa* has been in existence in Indian art from early times. It has been often represented as a globular vessel with a foot and contracted neck. Its body is often encircled with a decorated band of knots probably intended to preserve its contents in tact. It is found at Sānci and at Bharhut associated with Śrī Lakṣmī, standing in a lotus which emanates from the *pūrṇa-kalaśa*. At other times this pilaster or the Vase of Plenty alone is discovered with a mass of leaves and lotus flowers blossoming from it.

This symbol was also adopted by Jaina craftsmen in their art. Among the Jainas it was considered one of the *aṣṭamaṅgala* or the Eight Auspicious symbols as well as one of the fourteen lucky dreams of Tisalā. It was borne by the Nāgas or by the river deities or goddesses, as an auspicious symbol. It is constantly noticed in the Amarāvatī reliefs representing stūpas. Occasionally a frieze comprises only of a row of such full vessels represented in full relief. In the Varca shrine at Udayagiri, the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā hold in their hands these sacred vessels. Similar figures are also met with at Kharod as well as Bajaura. In Cāḷukyan architecture on certain door-ways two elephants shower flowers on two huge vases, evidently the *pūrṇa-kalaśas*.[10] They are again depicted on either side of the doorway of the Jaina temple at Paṭṭadakal.[11] In the temple at Thanjāvūr this symbol was introduced by the Coḷas. From either side of it descend two vines in lovely knots. The Suṅdara Pāṇḍya *gopuram* at Cidaṁbaram also displays this decorative pilaster. The flatted vessel is unlike its Coḷa prototype plain and reveals no decoration either of vines or even ribs on it.[12] The Kadambas and Hoysaḷas surprisingly probably did not adopt it even as decorative emblems because it is rarely seen in their temples, which are scattered all over Karnāṭaka. But in Vijayanagara it was revived in all its grandeur and became one of their most beautiful decorations. Of

all their significant and interesting symbols this is the most elegant, well proportioned and admirable. But among all the pilasters of South Indian architecture, it resembles that of the Coḷas in the Thanjāvūr temple. This once again proves that Vijayanagara architecture absorbed within it elements from various preceding schools of art. This Vijayanagara *pūrṇa-kalaśa* is perhaps the most elaborate of its kind in the entire range of South Indian art. The vase is beautifully ornamented and from either side of it descend two wing-like vines thronged with details. The magical belt going round this vase is also adorned and from either side of it issue forth two bouquets of flowery vines. From the centre of this vase arises a pillar with a lotus capital. The whole Bowl of Plenty acts as the support of the entire pilaster.

The Decorative Animal World

The decorative animal world of Vijayanagara art is no less interesting and informative. The scope of the South Indian engraver in depicting such a sphere was probably as wide as that of the Buddhist sculptors and this cannot be better exemplified than on the panels of Vijayanagara art, in which various domestic animals were carved with great ease, fidelity to nature and unfailing vitality. In this implementation the Indian engraver was fortunately assisted by the tradition, of course religious, that certain animals and even birds were in one way or the other connected with specific deities. Among these animals may be mentioned the swan (*haṁsa*) elephant (*hasti*) the bull (*naṅdi*) associated with the former, the horse (*aśva*), the *makara* (crocodile), the snake (*nāga*), cow (*go*), boar (*varāha*), eagle (*garuḍa*), lion (*siṁha*).[13]

Besides these animals there were certain other aspects of decoration which will be dealt with later.

The Swan (Haṁsa)

The swan is sometimes associated with deities. "The husband of Pārvatī" according to an inscription "who comes riding on the swan" implying Śiva. This is strange for Śiva's vehicle is *naṅdi* (bull) while Sarasvatī is known to have the swan as her *vāhana*. The *Mānasāra* states that it was the vehicle (*vāhana*) of Brahmā, defines it rather vaguely, saying that it is white, all over, with red legs and a golden beak, adding that rows of swans should be beautifully carved or painted in the temples of the gods, on the entablatures (*prastara*), the upper part of the *uttara*, the *kūṭa*, *nīḍa* and *grīva* (neck) of all shrines.[14] Some monarchs adopted the swan as a dynastic crest, and it is said to have been the dynastic device on the banner of the mythical Gaṅga king, Koṅgaṇi. The swan is carved in Vijayanagara shrines either on the *uṭṭīram* as in the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple or simply engraved on one frieze in different postures, forming delightful specimens of Vijayanagara art.

The Elephant (Hasti)

The elephant is another animal prominent in temples in India. Indra had as his vehicle (*vāhana*) the elephant Airāvata (*airāvataṁ gajendrāṇām narāṇām ca narādhipaṁ*) which is declared supreme among elephants by Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagavad Gītā*.[15] According to Hindu belief the *Diggajas* protect the ten quarters. In the *Jātakas* of the Buddhists, the Buddha is represented as having been born many times as an elephant. The *Chaddanta Jātaka* relates that he was once born as a six-tusked elephant which itself broke all its tusks, one after the other, to present them to a queen and thus sacrificed its life.[16] To the Jainas the elephant was specially sacred to the *tīrthaṅkara* Ajitanātha as his symbol (*lāñcchana*) by which he is recognised. In Tuḷuva (South Kanara District, Karnāṭaka) the Jaina *bastis* (temples) are always flanked at the entrange after the Brāhmaṇical style, with two crouching elephants. This animal became a favourite with South Indian craftsmen. It exists in the *rathas* at Mahābalipuram and in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcipuram.[17] It was freely employed by several craftsmen in the South where the Hoysaḷas began to depict this animal extensively in their temples. They can be seen for example on the *upānaṁ* or the frieze above the basement of any Hoysaḷa temple like the Keśava temple at Somnāthpur.[18]

At Vijayanagara the elephant formed not only a unit of the army but it was treated with great reverence. Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador to the court of Deva Rāya II, found in that capital more than a thousand elephants, "resembling mountains and in their forms resembling devils."[19] The emperor had a white elephant of great size, which was speckled with gray spots and considered sacred. "Every morning" says Razzak, "this animal is led before the monarch and the sight of him seems to act as a happy omen."[20]

The elephant was employed not only as a crest in ancient times, but also used for other purposes. The Gaṅgas of Taḷakāḍ and the Raṭṭas of Saundatti had the elephant as their royal emblem (*lāñcchana*).[21] Though the Vijayanagara rulers did not adopt it as a royal emblem or a regal crest, still on certain coins of their emperor Pratāpa Deva Rāya, the elephant was inscribed.[22] It was sometimes offered as a gift to kings. Sāḷuva Timma Rāya presented twelve elephants to Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur.[23] This was one of the animals included in the cortegé of an ambassador. King Veṅkaṭa II sent one of his nobles of the Royal Council with elephants, camels, horses, kettle drummers, to receive a Portuguese ambassador.[24]

Such an animal it is no wonder was carved almost everywhere in Vijayanagara temples. They were generally depicted in a series on the *upānaṁ* but, unlike the the Hoysaḷa elephant, none of these beasts is like another in so far as its movements are concerned. Generally these elephants are adorned with a thick chain of large beads which hang down in front of it. There were two other chains: one of which was wound round its stomach and the other beneath its tail. The elephant's neck was safeguarded with two separate plates, its legs had rings round it and it is quite

possible that such animals were treated with great consideration specially because they were purchased from abroad. Abdur Razzak observes that "merchants carry elephants from Silam (Ceylon—Śrī Laṅkā) to different countries and sell them according to their height, so much more being demanded for each additional yard."[25] The sculptures of such elephants are the mute memories of those medieval days.

Generally these elephants suggest irresistably a similar Hoysaḷa custom. The railed parapet on the north wall of the Keśava temple at Somnāthpur is crowded with endless rows of elephants[26] as in the shrines of Vijayanagara. It is likely that the Vijayanagara craftsmen adopted this custom from their political predecessors, the Hoysaḷas. On this Hoysaḷa shrine only one or two *māhuts* (riders) are seen but in the temples of Vijayanagara there are at times even five riders on one elephant. This could not have been untrue for Varthema, a traveller, found seven persons sitting on such an elephant.[27]

The elephant, as noted earlier, was engraved on the flanks of a temple doorway. Such an ornamentation can be seen when entering the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple, the Kṛṣṇa temple, the Royal Palace and the so-called *Zenāna* Enclosure. Unfortunately its trunk is broken by some ignominious vandal but the major portion of it remains in tact. The carving over this elephant gives an idea of its trappings which are fine indeed. With an ornamented covering on its back, the large beaded chains before and behind, the real chains with leaf-pendants, the strap running round its stomach dangling the large bell beneath it, with rings on its legs, with the jewelled bands round its neck, its fillet on the forehead and, with even its ears ornamented, this beautiful image suggests an idea of the magnificence of a Vijayanagara State elephant.

The symbolic elephant was also engraved not only on coins but also remembered in verse. It can be seen on a coin of Mallikārjuna.[28] The poet Timmaṇṇa thought that the elephant of Vajradatta was a wonderful sight: "The elephant excelled the lion in strength, it burdened the royal enemies with defeat; it sold the opposing enemies to the heavenly women; it showed victory to its party. The victory of hostile heroes flew away: in this way it looked grand."[29]

The Elephant-Bull Composite Design

Mention has already been made of the bull in the sphere of imagery (cf. ante) and it is of considerable interest to find a composite emblem of the elephant and bull in Vijayanagara art. It has been claimed that "its immediate source" is Coḷa . . . though ultimately its introduction may be traced to the effects of Cāḷukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa inroads and counter-attacks"[30] and that the bull and elephant combination is found in the Coḷa temple at Dārāsuram at the entrance of the *Nāṭya Maṇḍapa*.[31] Dārāsuram, called also Rājarājeśvaram in the Coḷa inscriptions, is in the Thanjāvūr district, Tamil Nāḍu, after Rājarāja II in whose reign (1146-73) its main structure was built though additions were made to it later by Kulottuṅga III.[32] This symbol

is first seen in South Indian art at Bādāmi in the 7th century and then again in the Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭadakal, the "actual meridian" of whose style, according to Percy Brown, "was attained in the first half of the eighth century."[33] It would be therefore more reasonable to infer that this symbol was borrowed by the Vijayanagara craftsmen from the Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭadakal rather than from the Dārāsuram temple in the Tamil Nāḍu. This is because Paṭṭadakal and Bādāmi were in the Karnāṭaka region with which the Vijayanagara rulers and craftsmen had greater affinities than with the Tamil Nāḍu and the temple of Virūpākṣa who was the tutelary deity of the the first dynasty (Saṅgama) of the Vijayanagara empire and the rulers invoked in their incriptions the blessings of that divinity.

The concept of such composite figures was known in Indian literature and art from early times. Gaṇapati, Dakṣa, Tuṁbūru, Garuḍa and Narasiṁha may be cited to illustrate the point at issue. Gaṇapati is half-elephant and half-man. Tuṁbūru, half-horse and half-man; Garuḍa, half-eagle and half-man; Dakṣa, half-goat and half-man and Narasiṁha, half-lion and half-man. Among these the artistic representation of Gaṇapati (Gaṇeśa), Garuḍa, Dakṣa and Narasiṁha have already been dealt with earlier. In art a Vākāṭaka painting at Ajanta depicts one deer with a single common head for four such deer artistically arranged.[34]

Two panels at Vijayanagara present this strange combination of elephant and a bull and of these the one that is shorter and that which is to our left is a bull and the elephant to our right is the larger. Both these animals are ornamented alike. The dexterous and artistic union of these two figures is only in the face and a portion in the neck. At first sight this composite figure looks a mass of confusion with the head of the animals missing but closer observation reveals that the elephant's head face is merged in the neck of the bull and its trunk is placed on the bull's neck. The bull is made to look upward and its face is wonderfully merged in that of the elephant. The admirable dexterity of the Vijayanagara artist consists in clearly preserving the individuality of these animals in this unique combination. Another lovely sculpture of two swans in one disproves the biased criticism of critics like Smith that the "semi-barbarism" of the Vijayanagara court is reflected in its forms of art.

The Horse (aśva) Emblem

Just above the frieze of elephants in the Hoysaḷa temples rose the panel of horses. The horse (*aśva*) like the elephant was also held in reverence. Even as Yama, the God of Death, had the buffalo for his vehicle, Sūrya, the sun-god, had his chariot drawn by seven horses. This explains why the horse has been held in veneration by the Hindus, who have also associated it with the renowned Vedic horse-sacrifice (*aśvamedha*). In the *Ṛgveda* three verses are intended to be recited at that sacrifice.[35] This sacrifice came to be considered in the *Purāṇās* as one of the highest order though no such merit is ascribed to it in the *Vedas*. It was therefore not inexplicable

that this animal continued to Vijayanagara days to be honoured as it was employed not only as an ornament or decoration but was held in genuine reverence. During the *Mahānavami* festival celebrations, in front of the many State horses during the review, went "a horse with two State umbrellas of the king and with grander decorations than the others and one of the lesser equerries led it by the bridle." In front it went caracolling and prancing another, as did all which horses were trained in that art. That was the horse maintained for a special purpose. Paes clarifies this usage: "Now you must know that this horse that is conducted with all this state is a horse that the king keeps on which they are sworn and received as kings and on it must be sworn all those that shall come after them; and in case such horse dies, they put another in its place."[36]

In art the horse had to be depicted in a particular manner. According to the *Rūpavaliya* "the horse has hoofs like balls and the lower part like a hound, a neigh like the sound of a storm, lotus eyes, he is swift as the sound of the wind, stately as a lion, has the gait of a dancer, a face like a cluster *munamal* flowers and the hinder like a stack of corn."[37] This is a conventional description of a horse from a craftsman's ideal point of view, but this was not always followed by the Vijayanagara sculptor who, being very familiar with it in the country, engraved it on the walls of Vijayanagara shrines throughout its empire, with remarkable power and skill, not as an unnatural or metaphysical creature of the imagination but as a genuine creature of the earth: natural, lively and active. Probably no animal in Vijayanagara art has been carved with such freedom and verve as the horse when compared with all the other animals on temple walls. The horse is depicted by the Vijayanagara craftsman not like the Hoysaḷa sculptor's stereotyped, wooden and lifeless beast, but living, like any steed on the earth, now cantering, uprising on its haunches, galloping or trotting, gracefully attired with its saddle and its rein.

The Crocodile (*Makara*)

The crocodile (*makara*) conventionally has been associated with sanctity. In the *Bhagavad Gītā*, Śrī Kṛṣṇa says to Arjuna "Among the purifiers I am the wind, I am Rāma among the armed men, I am *makara* among fish and I am Jāhnavī among the rivers."[38] The god of love Kāmadeva had for a flag emblem *makara* (*makaradhvaja*). It is one of the signs of the Hindu zodiac (the Greek Capricornus), the vehicle of Varuṇa and the goddes Gaṅgā, also represented on Gupta terracottas. It was the symbol (*lāncchana*) of the ninth Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* Puṣpadanta, and the *Mānasāra* explains that Jaina deities are installed on thrones decorated with the *makara-toraṇa*.[39] The *makara* found a place in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, *Amarakośa*, *Lalita Vistara*, and *Pañcatantra*, in which it is treated not only as an acquatic but also as an amphibious animal.

The *makara* is another beast featured prominently in Vijayanagara art in conformity with artistic usage. It was considered a symbol of the essence of the waters,

the principle of life. Hence it has been depicted as the vehicle of Varuṇa, of the Yakṣas, Yakṣiṇīs, and the river deity Gaṅgā. Kāma with his *makaradhvaja* (banner) is represented with Ratī at Bādāmi, in the Kailāsa temple at Ellora and elsewhere. Bāṇa in his *Kādaṁbarī* relates how his image was painted on a bed-room wall, while on two Gāndhāra reliefs his daughters bear a *makara* standard.[40] It also occurs in the Māra Dassana scene as one of his attendants at Sārnāth,[41] on spandrels of early tympanums, on the architraves of early *toraṇas*, on throne-backs, in jewellery, on medallions of pillars or as gargoyles. It also appears as the source of lotus vegetation from which have also evolved a great variety of decorative motifs concluding with that of the familiar *makara toraṇa* and the *tiruvāsi* of a Naṭarāja. Sometimes scrolls of the lotus vegetation rise from the open jaws of a *makara* from which either a man or an animal spring forth. It sometimes appears to drag vegetation along with it or some half-visible object from its mouth.

In early art it was given a crocodile's head, but with horns or fleshy feelers, extending backwards from the end of a long snout. It had sharp teeth and two or four canine feet with a scaly body, at first crocodilian; later it began to resemble land animals in Hoysaḷa art. Vegetation or pearl garlands are regularly depicted as shown hanging from its jaws. Generally its under or lower jaws are absent or concealed by this vegetation.

The origin of the *makara* cannot be easily discovered. The word *makara* occurs in the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*[42] and in the Hindu epics it is classed among sea-monsters like the *timi*, *jhāna*, *kūrma* and *graha.* It slowly came to be utilised as a motif in Indian art. It was first represented on Aśoka's railing at Mahābodhi, Buddha Gayā built in *circa* 250 B.C.[43] There are carvings of it also at Bharhut, Ter, Mathura, Kanheri and Ajanta. It later appeared in the Cāḷukyan sculptures, in Brāhmaṇical as well as in Jaina temples, on the pillars near the gate-way near the temple of Gaḷaganātha and on the door-way of a Jaina shrine at Paṭṭadakal. It was profusely employed by the Hoysaḷas, not so much as a *toraṇa* but as a mere frieze.

The Makara in Vijayanagara Art

In Vijayanagara art the *makara* was not a close imitation of its Hoysaḷa predecessor which itself was not a faithful adaptation of any of its predecessors in art. On Vijayanagara panels it is visible, though occasionally, as in the case of the crocodile dragging an elephant into the waters. At other times the *makara* became rarer on the friezes but like the elephant it was carved on the sides of the door-steps of shrines, like those of the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple in the capital itself. It was also depicted on the slabs of the city-gates as for instance on a large portion of a pillar of such an entrance. In Vijayanagara the *makara* was carved as a well-built, powerful and fierce beast, with a bushy tail and a crocodile's mouth raised over its back, as though it was going to eat something. Later on at Bhaṭkaḷ in North Kanara District, Karnāṭaka, its body began to partake more of the outline of the conven-

tional lion of Hindu craftsmen.[44]

The Snake (*Nāga*)

Another animal or beast common in Vijayanagara art is the snake, a symbol of Virūpākṣa, the Lord of the Nāgas or Serpents. As noted earlier, the monarchs of the Vijayanagara empire up to Veṅkaṭa II uninterruptedly signed their grants in the name of Śrī Virūpākṣa, their family deity, invoking his blessings. This name is met with in Pāli literature as one of the names of four serpent kings.[45] The origin of snake worship is still an unsettled question but it seems to have been in vogue from the times of Mohenjo Dāro as its emblems bear witness. It continued to be current in Buddhist times as can be noticed from its plastic representations in Buddhist art. Wherever Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism prevailed, snake worship always coexisted.

In Vijayanagara, where both these religious influences survived, snake worship also survived and in all probability its citizens personified the deity into a goddess whom they worshipped. There is a unique representation of a snake deity, so different from the serpent stones (*nāga-kallu*) in the north east corner of the Prasanna Virūpākṣa temple in the capital. This image has a human form but its legs are merged in a thick snake-tail. Fully ornamented, she has a crown (*kirīṭa*) and holds, as a woman would do, two little snakes in both her hands. She has a large snake-hood for a canopy, as can be seen in the case of the fierce Ugra Narasiṁha colossus and has in addition two door-keepers (*dvārapālas*) besides her. This leaves little doubt that this deity was once evidently worshipped. Vogel observed that "This hybrid is a female and in all probability represents the serpent goddess who in Southern India is known by the name of Muḍamā. These representations of the serpent deity, however interesting in connection with popular religion are not very pleasing from an aesthetic point of view. The thick and short-set snake body combined with the woman's bust gives these sculptures an ungraceful appearance."[46] One may not entirely agree with Vogel's views but it may be noted how such unique images came to be worshipped in Vijayanagara. Similar snake images are also found at Ānekal in Karnāṭaka[47] and in Tuḷuva (South Kanara District, Karnāṭaka) where many such stones still exist, representing snake goddesses. The most famous centres of snake worship in Tuḷuva are Subrahmaṇya, Baḷḷamañje, Kaḍu-kukke, Kuḍupu, Mañjeśvara, Kāḷāvara, Kaṭṭiṅgere and Viṭṭhala. In most of the serpent centres, the worship of Skanda Kārttikeya in the form of Subrahmaṇya on *Mārgaśīrṣa Śuddha Ṣaṣṭi*, known in Tuḷuva as Skanda Ṣaṣṭi is conducted by Brāhmaṇas.[48]

The Cow (*Go*)

Sometimes on one of the sides of a pillar, merely for decoration, are depicted some animals. At Vijayanagara I chanced to discover two exquisite carvings of

cow. In one case there was a cow, licking its calf beside it. It is a fine carving, replete with a sense of proportion, realism and charm. Another sculpture appeared on one of the *maṇḍapas* showing a cow licking its own feet. Considering the ruggedness of the granite this carving is another specimen of the sculptor's concept of reality in a rural setting, with an aesthetic sense.

The Boar (*Varāha*)

It has been noted already that the boar (*varāha*) was adopted by the Vijayanagara emperors as their royal crest (*lāñcchana*). Like many other motifs in Indian art, this one too had its roots in the deep and hoary past. The Varāha was an incarnation (*avatāra*) of Viṣṇu who, as the Primeval Boar, is stated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and other works, to have plunged into the great ocean to rescue the earth which had been carried off and hidden there by the demon Hiraṇyākṣa.[49]

This symbol was adopted as a motif by monarchs from the 5th century onwards and continued till the Vijayanagara era. The Eran inscription of Toramāṇa, the Hūṇa king, appears on a stone-boar image which is covered all over with elaborate sculptures chielfy of sages (*ṛṣis*) clinging to its mane and bristles. It has the earth, represented as a woman according to legend, clinging to its right tusk and all over its shoulders there is a small four-sided shrine with a seated figure on each face of it.[50] The inscription invokes Viṣṇu thus: "Om! Victorious is the God (Viṣṇu) who has the form of a Boar, who in the act of lifting up the earth (out of the waters) caused the mountains to tremble with the blows of (his) hard snout; (and), who is the pillar (for the support) of the great house which is the three worlds" and speaks later on of having built a temple in his name.[51]

In the 7th century this symbol of the Boar was adopted by the Western Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi. The Hyderabad grant of the great Pulikeśi II dated 612 relates how the family of Cāḷukyas "had all kings subject to them at the sight of the boar-crest which they acquired through the favour of the divine Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu)."[52] This again reveals that they adopted this symbol not by any conquest but out of genuine devotion to Viṣṇu. They adopted this symbol in many of their records irrespective of their particular sectarian subjects and from this Fleet concluded that the family god of the Cāḷukyas was Viṣṇu.[53] This might have been so but, though the Vijayanagara emperors had the boar as their royal crest, their family deity was certainly not the Boar (*varāha*).

Later, in the 10th century, the Coḷa monarch Rājādhirāja, tried to wrest from Āhavamalla, the Western Cāḷukyan ruler, his boar banner but perished in the battle.[54] His younger brother Rājendra Deva valiantly repulsed Āhavamalla who fled in terror before him. His younger brother once more defeated Āhavamalla and seized with his possessions his Boar standard.[55] Did the Coḷas adopt the Boar emblem? In some cases they did, for example, as the five copper plates of

Śrīkaṇṭha, a Coḷa ruler, reveal in relief an erect boar facing the proper right.[56]

In the 13th century the Kākatīyas of Wāraṅgal once adopted this dynastic symbol. One of the grants of Gaṇapati, the son of Ponti Varma, a king of Wāraṅgal, bears the emblem of a boar, the sun and moon.[57]

The Reḍḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu, a family of lesser chiefs, also adopted the *varāha* as a family symbol. The Madras Museum plates of Vema, founder of those Reḍḍis, dated 1345, open with an invocation to the Boar. Another[58] inscription of that chief calls on the benediction of the Boar.[59]

The Boar (Varāha) in Vijayanagara Art

In view of this cultural and historical background over ten centuries, the adoption of this symbol by the Vijayanagara emperors was natural and it continued to survive on their grants till almost the last days of their glorious empire. An inscription of 1378 issued by Bukka I prays that "the Boar may grant increase of wealth to the good."[60] Later, when king Virūpākṣa became a Vaiṣṇavite, the invocation to the Boar continued to appear in his inscriptions.[61] During the reign of Acyuta Rāyā, the image of the Boar was carved on his copper plates.[62] Finally, even during the reign of Veṅkaṭa II, the Boar prevailed in his epigraphs.[63]

The Boar as the incarnation (*avatāra*) of Viṣṇu has been splendidly represented in our art. It is depicted at Mahābalipuram,[64] at Bādāmi and other places. But apart from these on the copper plates or inscriptions of those monarchs who built these structures, this royal crest appears. As regards the Eastern Cāḷukyas, the copper plates of Viṣṇuvardhana II and VI, Bhīma II, Vijayāditya and Rājarājadeva V show us a running Boar below which is carved an open lotus while above the animal or beside it are placed an elephant goad, the sun and moon. Sometimes, as in one of the copper plates of Vikramāditya VI, the Later Cāḷukya ruler, of Kalyāṇa only a plain Boar marches to the left, while in the plates of Śrīkaṇṭa Coḷa, the Boar is to the left, and in front of it is a conch and above it a dagger with the sun and moon.[65]

When the Vijayanagara emperors adopted this symbol on their seals, the Boar was distinguished from that of the Cāḷukyas by the addition of a sword. On the plates of their kings, the Varāha is facing right while the sun and moon (symbols of eternity) are to the left and right of the Boar.[66] During the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya his seal bears the figures of the sun, moon, a boar and a dagger.[67] The seals of Acyuta Rāya depict the Boar facing right, while over it are the sun and moon, and below it a floral design. Sadāśiva's seals in 1547 display the dagger again. The royal crest of Veṅkaṭa II discloses the Boar and the dagger as in the days of Sadāśiva Rāya, including the floral design.[68] In sculpture also the Boar appears as on the walls of a Vijayanagara temple, a fine carving of the Boar, with the accompaniment of the dagger, sun and moon.

The Lion (Siṁha)

The lion (*siṁha*), associated with many emblems, was a common motif on the sculptures of Multan where it appears often. It is also found on the throne of the Buddha.[69] One of the earliest South Indian dynasties to have the lion as a dynastic symbol was the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family[70] from whom the Pallavas might have borrowed it and from them their feudatories the Kadambas adopted it. It was chosen as a decorative motif by the Coḷas as can be seen from its appearance at the base of the Rājarājeśvara temple at Thanjāvūr.[71] The lion can be seen on the seals of Jayakeśi I, the Kadamba king of Goa, fully resembling that of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, the Pallavas and the early Kadambas. The Hoysaḷas following suit arranged the lion as a motif between pillars for instance in the Kedāreśvara temple at Haḷebīḍ.

The Lion (Siṁha) in Vijayanagara Art

This very lion can be seen in Vijayanagara art, exactly similar to its prototype of the Kadambas, Pallavas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. It stands with its right forepaw raised, its neck erect, wide open mouth as an ornamental motif. Its tail is curled into a loop as in the case of the lion on the Rāmatīrtha plates of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.[72] It is possible that the Vijayanagara emperors carved it on their temples to commemorate the reduction of a Kadamba monarch, whose name is not mentioned by Mārappa,[73] although their employing it merely as an ornamental motif cannot be entirely ruled out. Such a type of decoration was not new. The whole *vimāna* of the Siddheśvara temple at Hāveri is covered with lions. All Coḷa shrines are decorated with bands of endless walking lions generally with their heads turned towards their backs. In the Kamalanārāyaṇa temple at Degāṁve, the lion was chiselled all arround on the parapet and these are ramping lions resembling those in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcipuram.[74]

The Eagle (Garuḍa)—Gaṇḍa-Bheruṇḍa

Another symbol, the *gaṇḍa-bheruṇḍa*, had strange associations and scholars have suggested various origins of it. Marshall contended that this double-headed eagle occurs for the first time in Hittite sculptures in Western Asia, that it is also found on an early ivory of the Geometric period from Sparta and that later on the Scythians introduced it to Taxila (Takṣaśilā). From them it was drafted into the Russian imperial arms and those of Germany and that from Taxila it found its way to Vijayanagara and Ceylon.[75] The double-headed eagle no doubt occurs in Hittite sculptures at Boghaz Keui and Eyuk, the district known as Pteria to the Greeks. At Eyuk, on the right external face of the entrance of a ruined palace, it appears as a symbol, in the form of a double-headed eagle. It carries, according to Perrot, in either talon a hare and a man is standing on its two-fold head. An identical eagle, supporting the figure of a man or a god, is met with at Boghaz Keui and must be

regarded, as Sayce observed, as one of the peculiarities of Hittite symbolism and art. This symbol, whose roots can be traced to primitive Babylonia, was adopted later on by the Turkoman princes, who had perhaps first seen it on the Hittite monuments of Cappadocia. The Crusaders brought it to Europe with them in the fourteenth century and there it became the emblem of the German emperors and from them it passed on to the modern kingdoms of Russia and Austria.[76]

Other Views of Its Origin

Sayce traced the double-eagle motif to the influence of Egyptian art, taking us back when the Hittites of Cappadocia were in contact with the people of the Nile and thus confirming the evidence of the Egyptian records during the age of Rameses II. Sayce further held that the palace at Eyuk was erected in the thirteenth century before the Christian era and is a relic of the period when the sway of the Hittite princes of Kadesh or Carchemish extended as far north as the neighbourhood of the Halys.[77] But the sculptures of Boghaz Keui probably pertain to a later period than those of Eyuk. Behind a goddess, a youthful god with the double-headed battle-axe in his hand, stands on a panther and behind him again were two goddesses with mural crowns, whose feet rest on the heads and wings of a double-headed eagle. This eagle, whose form is only a reproduction of the one sculptured at Eyuk, closes the series of designs represented on the northern wall.[78]

Longhurst presumed that this symbol was introduced into India through Persia,[79] but he did not furnish any reasons or proofs in support of his view. In India the earliest representation of *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* was seen first at Taxila and later at Sāñci on its bas-reliefs ascribed to *circa* second century B.C.[80] The concept of an eagle (*garuḍa*) catching an elephant and a tortoise in its talons is noticed in the *Mahābhārata* and the Garuḍa is also known as a vehicle (*vāhana*) of Viṣṇu[81] and came to be interpreted as a symbol of super human power. In fact the words *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* and *garuḍa* appear to have become synonymous. For example in 1031 a Cāḷukya monarch Jayasiṁha Deva is called in an inscription a titled *bheruṇḍa* to his feudatories and a *garuḍa* to his dependants.[82]

The Artistic Interpretation of Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa

The term *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* was adopted as a title by the Cāḷukyas, Kadambas, Hoysaḷas and the Vijayanagara rulers. In 1047 the Cāḷukya (not Kadamba as Cousens thought) governor Cāmuṇḍa Rāyarasa erected at Baḷḷigāve a pillar surmounted by a *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* before god Jagadekamalleśvara.[83] Here the *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* is sculptured as a human being standing erect with two birds' heads, looking in opposite directions while eating or tearing something which it holds in its hands.[84] This image reveals how the epic concept of Garuḍa was taking a concrete shape in the 11th century. A Kadamba Ajavarmmarasa set up a fine *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* pillar at Beḷḷigāve and made a grant for the *bheruṇḍa*.[85] The *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* is men-

tioned as a bird in the *Pañcatantra*.[86] In Sanskrit the word *bheruṇḍa* means terrific, frightful, terrible, a species of bird while *gaṇḍa* is understood to imply a warrior or a hero and no wonder this term came to be utilised as a title by kings.[87] In 1048 the Cāḷukya king Trailokyamalla Deva called himself a *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa*,[88] and in 1077 his successor Tribhuvanamalla is also called a titled *Bheruṇḍa*.[89] This honorific was not exclusively reserved for the royalty. In 1096 Saṭṭoja, a sculptor, was styled a *bheruṇḍa* to titled rivals.[90] A Kaḷacūrya feudatory Kāvaṇṇaya *Daṇḍanāyaka* had the tiles of *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* and *Gaṇḍara Gova*.[91] In Kannaḍa *gaṇḍa* means a husband, a hero and *gaṇḍara gova* implies a significant superiority in such a category. In fact the term *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* became an honour of kings, distinguished rivals, feudatories and generals, among the Ikṣvākus, Cāḷukyas, Kadambas, Kaḷacūryas and Hoysaḷas.[92] A grant of 1196 records how a king's household was filled with a *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* and other things.[93] In 1196 Vīra Ballāḷa Deva was called a *gaṇḍa-bheruṇḍa* to royal generals,[94] and again in 1218 Vīra Ballāḷa Deva is once more hailed as a *male bheruṇḍa*, a term also applied to soldiers.[95]

The Hoysaḷas carved ingeniously what has been called "the chain of destruction," in which a *gaṇḍa-bheruṇḍa* attacks a *śarabha* which fights a lion which, in its turn, falls on an elephant which, with its trunk, seizes a huge serpent about to swallow an antelope. A sage below, amazed, is gazing at this unique occurrence.[96] This panel can be seen in the Sūrya shrine at Koramaṅgala as well as in the Keśava temple at Belūr.[97]

The Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa in Vijayanagara Art

Naturally the successors of the Hoysaḷas, the Vijayanagara emperors, continued to use this title and it also formed like the *varāha* their royal crest. Deva Rāya II was the first Vijayanagara king to adopt the title of *Gajabheruṇḍa* on his coins,[98] the prefix of *gaja* in this case being significant. Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya is styled a very *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* to the herds of elephants (which were his foes).[99] During the reign of Acyuta Rāya on his gold coins (pagoda) (*pratāpa*) a double-headed eagle (*gaṇḍabheruṇḍa*) holds elephants in its beaks and claws.[100] On a half pagoda of this monarch, another *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* walks to the left.[101] Even Veṅkaṭa II in his grant of 1636 is styled an *Arebhaga-gaṇḍabheruṇḍa*.[102]

Apart from numismatic representations or literary references we have fortunately sculptural and artistic portrayals of this unique symbol in Vijayanagara art, covering a stretch of nearly four centuries. In the modern village of Kamalāpur (13 km. from Hospet) the ruins of an old citadel disclose, on either side of its entrance the emblems of two large and notable bas-reliefs of the *gaṇḍa-bheruṇḍa* symbol. This was not only "a symbol of the early Vijayanagara rulers," but it suggests an early date for the fort in that empire's history. (Devakunjari, *Hampi*, 1970, p. 70). Epigraphic evidence would have been more definitive and positive. There is little artistic merit in this representation as it is rather crude and has little aesthetic value.

Apart from this portrayal of the *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* motif on one of the early fortresses of the Vijayanagara empire, we have fortunately a much better and certainly far more attractive sculpture of this symbol in the Vīrabhadra shrine at Keḷadi. It has a grand ceiling portraiture of an immense *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa*, probably one of the finest, if not the best in all Vijayanagara art. It depicts the *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* standing with the usual two faces but only two legs, with its wings outspread and its entire body enclosed as though with a serried armour, giving it a truly martial appearance. In either of its beaks, it has caught hold of a lion (*siṁha*) by its jaws: the *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa's* beak clutching the lion's open mouth with the lower part of its beak inside the lion's open mouth while the upper part of its beak clasps it by its forehead. The lion itself is mounted on the back of an elephant.

The elephant was not left out as one of the *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa's* victims for with the claws of each of its feet, the *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* has clutched an elephant, which looks on helplessly in its utter misery and anguish. Despite all this ferocity, puissance and stamine of endurance, it is surprising that there is an utter lack of any expression or light or vision for they are just dead and blank in their appearance.

Thus there are four elephants in all: two on which the two lions are seated and two in the claws of the *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* itself, while there are only two lions in its two beaks. This immense sculpture is flanked on all sides by a rather ponderous and unartistic foliage which appears extremely artificial. The four corners of the ceiling are adorned with the emblems of the *kīrtimukha* depicted as fierce and frightful. The entire sculpture is fringed with a serried series of foliage, some with a four-petalled flower with a bud within and leaves of stems with a five-petalled flower with only one bud within it.

What could have been the real significance of the *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* motif in Vijayanagara art? It could have been no other than a symbol of supreme strength and supremacy for which that empire stood for three centuries. In order to demonstrate this symbolism, the *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* was depicted as a bird with unparalleled power, lifting as though with impunity two lions, the lion being the king among beasts and two elephants with its claws, the elephant being the most mighty among all mammals. If a *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* could so easily clasp with great ease such beasts, then its supermacy could hardly be questioned. That was the ideal of the Vijayanagara empire—strength and supermacy at their loftiest and best.

Acyuta Rāya is the only monarch on whose coins this symbol appears while the rest used it as a mere title. On two coins of this emperor there is a double-headed eagle clasping elephants in its beaks and claws. Sometimes on a *varāha* a *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* is striding to the left.

The feudatories, like the Nāyakas of Keḷadi consequently began adopting this crest of their masters as noticed already.

The Kīrtimukha (Face of Fame)

The origin of the *kīrtimukha* has been a problem of controversy. This comparatively little architectural motif in South Indian art has persisted in the elements of symbolism and ornamentation from early ages and penetrated not only the whole of India but even travelled to far-off regions outside its borders. In the *Padma Purāṇa* its origin has been described, associating it with Śiva and Pārvatī. Jālandhara, the Asura (demon) produced by the contact of a flash from Śiva's eye with the ocean, on hearing of the ten praises of Pārvatī, went to Śiva and demanded her from him. Śiva, enraged, produced a terrible being from his third eye whose mouth was a lion's, whose tongue hung out, whose eyes were like lightning, whose hair stood on end and whose body was white. He looked like another Narasiṁha. As soon as he was created, he rushed at Rāhu (the demon with only one head) who had brought Jālandhara's message but Mahādeva intervened, telling him that Rāhu was only a servant, a messenger. Then the god ordered him to devour himself and he agreed, leaving only his head. This so pleased Mahādeva (Śiva) that he directed that he should be called henceforth *Kīrtimukha* or the Face of the House of Fame or Renown, and that he should be represented on doors of all his shrines so that he may be worshipped first on entering such temples.[103] Most of the *Purāṇas* were compiled in their present form during the time of Guptas or after their collapse, viz. between 319 and 525.[104] The earliest representation of the *kīrtimukha* is on a fragment of a Gupta temple at Sārnāth ascribed to the third century A.D.[105] It is found as a headdress in the 4th or 5th century and consequently attracted the attention of the students of art. This *kīrtimukha* has been connected with the *makara* outside India and Dutch archaeologists called it the *kāla-makara*, whose relation to Vijayanagara art, in which the *makara's* significance has already been discussed. Stutterheim's attempt in linking the *kāla* with the *makara* is neither convincing nor successful.[106] Likewise Vogel's suggestion that it is the outcome of an indigenous combination and development[107] and Dubreuil's explanation of a similar nature[108] are neither satisfactory nor enlightening in any manner.

The Kīrtimukha as an Ornament

The *kīrtimukha* rests on the old Buddhist *kūḍu* or the *caitya*-window or the pointed arch. In later times this plain pointed arch came to be crowned by a lion's head but how it has not been explained. Vogel stated that, according to Javanese tradition, it was regarded as an effigy of the fierce god Kāla although it was traced back to its Indian prototype and found to be "primarily a lion's head."[109] Stutterheim also suggested that the *kāla-makara* represented two symbols: the Leo and Capricorn.[110] These suggestions take us nowhere in unravelling its mystery. Brandes had observed that the origin of the *kāla-makara* would not be solved till the history

of this motif is explained.[111]

As a decorative motif the *kīrtimukha* survived to Vijayanagara days but without the *makara*, leaving only the lion's head. It crowns the images of the Mahiṣāsuramardinī near the Cintāmaṇi temple at Ānegundi and even the fiery monumental Narasiṁha's face itself looks like that of a *kīrtimukha*, which peeps out often on the "House of Victory" built by the great Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya just as the *kūḍu* appears on the Pallava *rathas* at Mahābalipuram. Later, in the arches of the "Lotus Mahāl", ascribed to Rāma Raya, on the jambs of Jaina *bastis* at Mūḍabidri and at Bhaṭkaḷ in North Kanara District, Karnāṭaka, the *kīrtimukha* can still be seen. There is a large four-faced pillar at Mangalore in South Kanara District, Karnāṭaka, depicting battle scenes in which the *kīrtimukha* also appears.[112] At Vellore in the Kalyāṇa *Maṇḍapa* of the temples as well as on the walls of the *gopuram*, the *kīrtimukha* and the face are visible.[113] Sometimes only the *kīrtimukha* is engraved but the face generally exists and reminds us of its Buddhist affinities. Finally at Madurai, too, it decorates the temples of Tirumala Nāyaka but here too sometimes the face is missing.[114]

The *kīrtimukha* passed on to Bengal where it could be noticed on the deities of Pāla days, namely, of Viṣṇu and Tārā,[115] and it found its way to the distant and ancient colonies of Java, Cambodia and "Indo-China".

The Gaṅgā-Yamunā Motif

The Gaṅgā-Yamunā motif was another element of decoration found in Vijayanagara art. Its political antecedents must be determined in order to understand its appearance in Vijayanagara art. This is an ancient motif, which can be traced to the regime of the early Guptas, who did not adopt it as their dynastic symbol which was the Garuḍa but it appeared on their coins[116] and it also figured on their temple door-ways. In such sculptures Gaṅgā has an attendant while Yamunā has a tortoise beside her. This emblem was wrested from them by the Western Cāḷukyas of Bādāmi.[117] Vijayāditya Satyāśraya, the son of Vinayāditya, according to one of his inscriptions, by defeating some un-named king of Northern India (supposed to be Vajrata)[118] probably the Vajra of Yuān Chwāng,[119] acquired the *palidhvaja* banner, the symbols of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā, the *ḍhakka* (drum) and other attributes,[120] sometime after 692. Then this symbol, which prevailed among the Eastern Cāḷukyas also, was wrenched from the Western Cāḷukyas by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who defeated them and it was adopted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings, Daṅtidurga, Goviṅda III, Goviṅda IV and Indra III.[121]

The Emblem in Ornamentation

The Gangā-Yamunā goddesses, generally known as the *Nadī Devatas* or the River Deities, in their earliest representations were distinguished by their carrying

the *Pūrṇa-Kuṁbha* or Pot of Plenty. Later, Gaṅgā retained the *makara* while Yamunā was assigned the tortoise. It is possible that iconographically the differentiated forms of the river goddesses in North India were directly derived from the Yakṣi Dryad and their similarity is specially obvious as regards the pose.[122] From this it may be concluded that this particular design of the two rivers, guarding the temple doors, ornamented with the floriated decoration was probably of north and central Indian origin. It came into vogue during the Guptas and was common in Hindu temples of the 8th century. The contention that the deity Yamunā is not met with south of the Ganjam district (South Orissa) and from thence southwards its place was taken by a duplicate figure of Gaṅgā,[123] is not beyond dispute.

These symbolic deities from their original position as architrave brackets descended to become the door-keepers (*dvārapālas*) at a ground level. Subsequently they permeated the sculpture of the Cāḷukyan temples. In the doorway of the Tripurāṅtaka temple at Baḷḷigāve, they stand somewhat like the *dvārapālas* of later times. They apparently held something in their hands which are unfortunately broken by some vandals. The figures are gracefully adorned with garments and jewellery pertaining to women.[124] There is another example in one more temple at Aihoḷe, where two women are standing with their left hands resting on the head of a small boy or dwarf while their right ones clasp a blossoming stalk leaning on their shoulders.[125]

When the Rāṣṭrakūṭas overcame the Cāḷukyas, they too adopted, as stated earlier, this Gaṅgā and Yamunā symbol, which can be seen elaborately carved in their excellent temple at Ellora. The outer circuit of the temple which commences at the north-western corner has a fine carving of these figures which are preserved in a separate chapel built specially for them. The goddess Gaṅgā stands on a *makara* in the centre, while on her right is Sarasvatī and to her left is the deity Yamunā, standing on a tortoise.[126] Over these are seven sculptures probably representing the other fertilising rivers of the north while the flower-pots above them point to a similar significance.

The Gaṅgā-Yamunā Motif in Vijayanagara Art

The Eastern Cāḷukyan king Vijayāditya adopted this motif after defeating the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Kṛṣṇa II and from the Eastern Cāḷukyas it evidently passed on to the Gajapatis of Orissa, in whose Raghunāyaka temple at Udayagiri it can be seen. Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya during his expedition to Orissa, which he conquered, probably saw this symbol there on the inner and outer parts of the door-jambs of the eastern and southern gateways of that shrine. There stand not the two separate figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā but a duplicate figure of the former treading on the conventional crocodile (*makara*). Another change was in the sculpture of Gaṅgā depicted at the end of an ornamental scroll, where she stands erect cross-legged with her right hand raised up and her left let down naturally. This was effected by

the sculptor purposely to preserve a sort of natural harmony with the garland-like scroll, in conformity with the representations of the lotus (*padma*). The goddess Gaṅgā is depicted as an ordinary woman wearing arm-lets, with her hair tied into a knot in one case, and flung loosely in a plait in another, while her left hand is resting on her thigh.[127]

The direct imitation of this motif can be noticed in the Kṛṣṇa temple at Vijayanagara built in 1514 but with considerable improvement in decoration. The whole vine-scroll is greatly ornamented and, in the characteristic Vijayanagara style, the deity is fully adorned with several ornaments all over her limbs. At the base, however, is the usual *makara*. What is more interesting is that, in one instance, the scroll is filled with floral designs while, in another case, it is thronged with various figures of Kṛṣṇa depicting his different actions. This ornamentation is a clear proof of the prosperity of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's reign which witnessed the zenith of unprecedented splendour in Vijayanagara art and history. The scroll over the women finally bends like a *kuḍu* and to its right branch ending in a flower bud clings the right arm of the woman while the left branch touching her waist descends to the earth.[128] This design became a common feature of temple gateways in the Vijayanagara period. It appears on the fortresses of Ginji,[129] and on the *gopuras* of the Tāḍpatri temples in the Anaṅtpur district, Andhra Pradesh, where it is an exact reproduction of its prototype at Kṛṣṇapuram.

In spite of all the evidence cited above, writers like Vincent Smith observed that this motif was an ultimate though varied descendant of certain sculptures of women standing with their arms upraised in various ways at Yuzuffazai and at Sanghao.[130] Such views, which still prevail among European art-cintics, have neither any point nor any basis of any kind.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

CRAFTSMEN AND THEIR IDEALS

THE creators of the art of Vijayanagara were the craftsmen (*śilpin*) who pertained to various classes which cannot be precisely determined. Occasionally, however, mention is made of the five classes of craftsmen of the artisan communities, without mentioning their specific names as for instance in an inscription of Raṅga II.[1] In certain cases, some inscriptions refer to some of them like the engravers, *Kammālars* (carpenters) and the *Pāñcālas* during the Vijayanagara period. They were not only mere craftsmen but they formed themselves into separate guilds. Many of such craftsmen lived in Vijayanagara itself and were noticed by some of the visiting travellers or ambassadors like Abdur Razzak whose name has often been cited in the preceding pages. He was one of the earliest visitors to the city and he tells us how "each class of men belonging to each profession had shops contiguous to one another; and the jewellers sold publicly in the bazar pearls, rubies, emeralds, and diamonds."[2] These craftsmen were masters of their arts and evoked the admiration of such aliens who admired their skill and achievements. Another traveller Barbosa (1504-14) noticed that the polishing of jewels was known in Vijayanagara and that there also existed "excellent craftsmen who cut and mounted them (rubies)."[3] Such skilled workers were an asset to the citizens of Vijayanagara to such an extent that they accompanied their kings even during their campaigns. Nuniz (1535-37), another sojourner to that capital, observed how during an expedition "there were craftsmen also working in their streets, so that you saw made there golden jewels and gee-

gaws, and that you will find there all other kinds of rubies, and diamonds and pearls, with every other kind of precious stone for sale. There were also to be seen sellers of cloth and these were without numbers as that is a thing so many want, they being of cotton."[4] There can be no doubt that such craftsmen, who had formed themselves into separate corporations, had their respective temples, in the capital itself. Paes (1520-22), another eye-witness, noticed the existence of these craftsmen and traders in the metropolis. He specifically states that they formed separate communities: "Then when this gate is passed, you have another street where there are many craftsmen and they sell many things, and in this street there are two small temples. There are temples in every street for these appertain to institutions like the confraternities you know of in our parts (*Por que sao como as comfraryas que nas nossas partes haa*), of all the craftsmen and merchants . . ."[5] This is no doubt an obvious allusion to the guilds of craftsmen and their temples which were separate and distinct from those of others. Paes, apparently, did not know who were the divinities of those craftsmen but they are known from other sources.

The poets of Vijayanagara have fortunately preserved their memories. The poet Naṁbiyaṇṇa, in his *Saundara Vilāsa* depicts the shroffs of his day thus: "Nandi's coins, Rāma's coins, Śiva (Sadāśiva's) coins, Ikkeri Caṅdra's coins (*haṇa*), Acyuta's coins, placing heaps of these gold coins in front, rubbing on stones (touch-stones) to find out the quality and pressing (them) with wax balls, weighing and fixing the prices were the goldsmiths (dealers)."[6] These details disclose the means adopted by these jewellers for polishing, testing and selling their wares.

The Engravers

Among the five artisan communities mentioned in the inscription of Raṅga Rāya II cited earlier, the *Pāñcālas*, *Kammālars* and the engravers were, in one way or the other, connected with the development of Vijayanagara art and among these the engravers were probably the most important. That was because they were not only the builders of their temples and sculptors of their carvings, but they were also poets who could compose verse with ease and they were invariably employed in drafting their epigraphs. Such craftsmen transmitted their art from father to son. In 1305 there lived the skilful carpenter Māroja, the son of Yādoja, during the reign of Bukka I.[7] This reveals how craftsmanship had become hereditary. There were royal as well as common engravers, the former having been employed by monarchs for specific purposes. One such was Śasānacārya's son, the sculptor Nāgideva, the engraver of king Virūpākṣa, disclosing how sculptors could also be engravers.[8] In such inscriptions the composers of the material inscribed were different from the actual engravers. In this inscription the composer was Maḷḷaṇācārya, who noted that king Bukka Rājendra's praise was "sung by all the chief kings like the hum (ming) of bees" and how he resembled "the only tree of paradise (*kalpa-vṛkṣa*) on earth."[9] There can be no doubt that engravers certainly engraved grants for this is

borne out by inscriptions. During the reign of Harihara I, another engraver called Liṅgoja, inscribed in 1346 that "excellent grant" of nine villages to *Svāmi* Vidyātīrtha.[10] Not only were sculptors engravers but even inscribers could also be stone masons. One such was the stone mason Jaḍeya Rāmoja who, at the command of Mallinātha Oḍeyar in 1355, raised an upper storey for the god Siddhanātha, "fixed on it that god's pinnacle" and set up a new swing of stone.[11] This was in Bemmaṭanakallu and it is interesting to note that this engraver-mason was employed not by any ruler but by certain nobles.[12]

Sometimes among these engravers there were some who were acquainted with Hindu scriptures, implying a certain amount of scholarship, though it might not have been of a high standard. One such was Phaṇisītu, the son of Viśvanātha Rāya, whose inscription refers to Jāmadagnya slaughtering the Kṣatriyas and who hoped that the language of his charter (*śāsana*) "may meet the approval of the wise."[13] Another of the engravers of king Harihara I was Dharaṇoja, who had satisfactorily composed a stone inscription.[14] In 1386 another engraver was employed by Vīra Bhūpati Oḍeyar, called Muddaṇācāri.[15]

The private engravers, one of whom was mentioned earlier, were not just a few. One of them was *Senabova* Basavaṇṇa, who was not a royal engraver.[16] The designation *Senabova*, denoting a village headman, suggests that private engravers were also invested with petty offices like that of *Senabova*. Another private engraver mentioned is Irugaṇṇa, the son of Pidumaṇṇa of Arasanakere (King's tank).[17] Other engravers of the reign of Harihara were Devappa,[18] Akṣara Gopaṇṇa,[19] Bayiroja[20] Nṛsiṁha and Caṇḍoja.[21] But of all these engravers, mentioned already, the sculptor Nāgideva was probably a favourite as he seems to have engraved many inscriptions.[22] He must have lived long because, according to the Bāgeppaḷḷi inscription of 1336, he lived for nearly 58 years, since in 1394 his name occurs, honoured with the title of *Śāsanācārya*[23] implying that he must have lived 50 long years as an engraver, because his first authentic inscription is dated 1344.[24]

This designation of *Śāsanācārya*, probably bestowed first on Nāgideva in the Vijayanagara period, continued to be granted to others during the 15th century. Just as Nāgideva *Śāsanācārya* was renowned for his learning and craftsmanship, Muddaṇṇa also honoured with that title, in one of the Nellore inscriptions, is also called the son of Vīraṇṇa "the best of edict engravers."[25] This Vīraṇṇa was an engraver under Harihara I and is first heard of in 1405 when he was probably an employee of Viṭṭhaṇṇa Voḍeyar.[26] His son Muddaṇācāri became a royal engraver and sculptor under Deva Rāya II and is mentioned in 1429-30.[27] Presumably the father of this Muddaṇṇa had another son called Mungaṇācārya, who is mentioned in the reign of the neglected King Rāma Rāya II, in 1435.[28] But his likely brother Muddaṇācāri did not assume the office of *Śāsanācārya* till 1429-30 as in that year he is called an *Ācārya* for the first time[29] and it is possible that he did not survive after that year for he is not heard of any more. He evidently has a son called after his father Vīraṇācārya, first mentioned in 1426[30] when his father Muddaṇṇa was

alive. He survived for a long time for the last inscription he engraved was in 1463.[31] Unfortunately, though he was a skilful engraver since his name is seen in several inscriptions, still he was not styled a *Śāsanācārya*. In 1432 when probably Muddaṇa (or Muddaṇṇa) his father died, the carpenter Varadapācārya came to occupy the post of *Śāsanācārya*.[32] This reveals that this office was not hereditary and was, to use a modern expression, a "selection appointment", granted on the merit of one's work. This Varadapācārya enjoyed this office for a long period for epigraphs refer to him in 1458,[33] namely, twenty-six years later.

Families of Sculptors

In the 16th century, as in previous years, examples of which have already been cited, families of sculptors and engravers came into existence. One of them became prominent with the engraver Sabhāpati, who was a contemporary of the emperor Acyuta Rāya.[34] He had been an engraver under Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, the renowned emperor and composed his first inscription in 1511 with "soft expressions" at the request of his master.[35] He worked at first with a son of Mullaṇa, named Vīraṇācārya, a carpenter and still engraved royal grants which Sabhāpati had composed. He lived for a considerable period and inscribed several eloquent and elaborate epigraphs of the Vijayanagara empire.[36] He served for fifty years for his last inscription was composed in 1561.[37] Ḍiṇḍima Kavi, the court-poet of the Pāṇḍyas was, it has been alleged, the father of this Sabhāpati. Another poet Nāgaṇṇa Kavi married Abhirāmā Nāyikā, the daughter of Ḍiṇḍima Prabhu and sister of Sabhāpati of the Kaśypa *gotra* and the *Sāma Veda*, whose ancestors bore the title of "*Aghora Śivācārya*."[38] Whether this Ḍiṇḍima Prabhu is identical with another Ḍiṇḍima Kavi, one of the *Mahājanas* of Prauḍha Devarāyapura, who assigned house-sites to certain masons, cannot be decided with certainty because there were several Ḍiṇḍimas who figured in the world of letters from the 11th century onwards.

The grandson of Mallaṇa, Vīraṇācārya, who called himself after his father Vīraṇa in 1545,[39] but is not heard of after 1561, became an engraver. In 1567 one of his brothers named Gaṇapācārya, claimed himself also as the son of Vīraṇa.[40] This engraver inscribed what had been composed by *Kavi Śāsana* Svayaṁbhū, who calls himself a son of Sabhāpati. He was the royal composer or court-poet of king Tirumala in 1571.[41] This shows that by now, both the offices of the engraver and composer or court-poet of the court had become hereditary in these families of these two skilled workmen. Gaṇapārya had another brother called Appaṇācārya, employed under Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya in 1524.[42] *Kavi Śāsana* Svayaṁbhū had another brother named Kāmakoṭi, for his son, Kṛṣṇa Kavi, styles himself a grandson of Sabhāpati in 1586.[43] He could not have been the son of Sabhāpati because he adopts the name of Kāmakoṭi, has father, and it can be inferred from the *Daḷavāyi* Agrahāraṁ plates of Ativīrama Pāṇḍya that Rājanātha was the son of Svayaṁbhū.[44] This poet of Raṅga VI, as he is mentioned so late as

1645,[45] had another son named Kāmākṣi, older than Rāma Kavi since in 1523 he was a royal composer of Veṅkaṭa Rāya.[46]

Engraver-Composer Collaboration

Engravers and composers, as noticed earlier, worked hand in hand. Gaṇapācārya and Vīraṇācārya, as seen already, were brothers, sons of Vīraṇa and grandchildren of Mallaṇācārya. Now this Gaṇapācārya had a son who was also named after Vīraṇācārya, who had engraved what Kṛṣṇa Kavi Kāmakoṭi had composed in 1587.[47] Sometimes such an engraver was also honoured with the title of *Mahācārya*[48] (Great Teacher). Gaṇapācārya had a younger brother Kāmayācārya, who also called himself the son of Gaṇapārya (Gaṇapācārya) and he was working under the emperor Veṅkaṭa II.[49] But older than these two brothers was another engraver Acyutarāya according to the Koṇḍyāṭa grant.[50] The youngest son of these brothers was another engraver Kāmaya whose son Somanātharāya served as an engraver under Raṅga in 1645.[51]

Compensation to Craftsmen

These craftsmen were paid in various ways, especially in cash and kind. In 1380 three priests (*pūjāris*) presented to Maṇḍalapuruṣa, an *ācāri* (priest or craftsman) "for the work done for the temple" lands specified and a house too, exempt from taxes, with pouring of water.[52] This discloses how payment was made in kind and not in cash. In 1387 another epigraph relates how wages were paid for building a temple and a temple and a lamp-pillar (*dīpa-māle*) in the form of eight *koḷagas* of land.[53] In 1402 for constructing a memorial pillar (*vīra stambha*), Bogoja, a sculptor was granted some land also specified.[54] In 1408 for building the Viśveśvara and Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa temples Muḍoja, the craftsman, was granted the Baireya-*Kula* rice-field.[55] These examples reveal that land was donated as compensation and probably it poved more useful to the people than cash because it was not only profitable but permanent.

Land was not in Vijayanagara times the only reward for craftsmen. In 1431 for the carpenter Caja-Oja, who had executed the wood work of the door of the *gopura* of the *maṇṭapa* facing the god Varadarāja and the blacksmith Añjala Divinoja for setting up the door and performing the iron door-work, apparently of the same temple, were presented by Siṅga Rāja, hereditary land, horses and umbrellas.[56] In 1459, during the reign of Mallikārjuna, a sculptor Devarasa, for erecting a lamp-pillar (*dīpa-māle*) was granted some land.[57] Nevertheless payment was also made in cash sometimes. In 1544 for example all the "*haḷaru*" or *halagaru* (cultivators) of Bemmaṭṭi Būtanahaḷḷi paid for the stone-work of a *basadi* (temple) *ga*(*dyaṇa*) 200 *honnu*; to Ādi Śrī Avvagaḷ of Hanasoge for having the stone-work of the inner shrine completed by Bhujabali Śrī Avvagaḷ, paid *ga*(*dyaṇa*)

50; and during the distribution of food *ga(dyaṇa)*.[58] Granting of land, however, did not cease as a mode of payment for during Veṅkaṭa II's reign probably, Obe Nāyaka gave to the stone mason and carpenter, who built the temple of god Hanumaṅta, a grant of specified land.[59]

The craftsmen, who built tanks, were granted some compensation. In 1371 under Bukkaṇṇa and Nāgaṇṇa Oḍeyar, whenever "new fields" were made, "three parts" were to belong to those who excavated the tank.[60] In 1378 under Hariyappa Oḍeyar, one Nāḍoja, for executing the wood and iron work and to those who participated in constructing the sluice, were granted five *koḷagas* of rice land.[61] A piece of land was presented to the carpenter Svādiyoja in 1393 for raising an upper storey.[62] In the same year Immaḍi Kadamba Rāya Voḍeya granted to Dināpuri Cinnappa Reḍḍi a "*Kāpu Mānya*" below the Tirumaṇi tank.[63] This type of *mānya* was probably also a grant of rent-free land. In 1397 to fill this tank with water two masons consented to excavate a channel from Peda Nandisiriyūru right up to that tank on the payment of 130 Singeyea, some *gadyaṇas* and certain specified land at the sluice together with a horse and some bracelets.[64] Two years later, for constructing a tank in 1399, more interesting gifts were given. The artisans were permitted the right to own a palanquin, and some rice land measuring one *khāri* and five *kuḍupa*.[65] In 1512 the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Hiriya Mallapa Woḍeyar granted to Rāmayya a *kaṭṭu koḍagai* for excavating a tank.[66] In 1513 when the village of Śaṅkalapura was converted into a town, a tank near by having been dug out, ten *khaṇḍugas* of wet-land (*guḍḍe*) were given *daśavaṅda* (one tenths)[67] free land to a craftsman Vāraya.[68]

Sometimes more objects were bestowed as rewards. Bālana Gauḍa of Kaṇḍehaḷḷi expended 250 *gadyaṇas* and erected four high towers for the Kaṇḍehaḷḷi fort with the help of the artisan Vaḍḍa Drāṇa Bova. This craftsman was presented by Bhārati Aimaṅgala Tippaḷa Nāyakācārya, evidently their over-lord, with one bracelet, one necklace, one small turban and a check-suit.[69] This artisan was also honoured with the *sthaḷa-gauḍike*[70] of the Kaṇḍehaḷḷi village. In 1548 again some rice land was bestowed as compensation for repairing a ruined tank.[71] For excavating a channel in 1560 from the Hagore river to Mailenahaḷḷi, Elapa Nāyaka was granted some rice fields.[72]

The Pāñcāla Craftsmen

The *Pañcālas* were one of the five types of craftsmen, comprising of blacksmiths, carpenters, goldsmiths,[73] though others are not mentioned. They were extremely well-organised and their guild meetings were held in an exemplary manner. According to a record of 1300 a permanent agreement was made by all the *Pāñcālas*, who had assembled, *without a vacancy in their assemebly*, in front of God Sokkaparumāḷ.[74] This reveals that they convened organised group meetings to decide any matter of importance to their guild, and that such assemblies were

convened in temples in the presence of a deity, probably to achieve a sort of sanctity.

Guilds of Craftsmen—Types

There were evidently different types of craftsmen even among a particular class of skilled workers. Thus mention is made in inscriptions of *Vīra Pāñcālas*, whose precise connotation cannot be determined but, as their designation *Vīra* (brave) suggests, they probably occupied a prominent place in the *Pāñcāla* hierarchy. Like the *Vīra Pāñcālas* there was yet another group of artisans named Pañca Karakahala who, like the *Vīra Pāñcālas*, will have to remain unidentified till their position is clarified. Still sometimes epigraphs throw some light on their activities. An inscription of 1300 records how the Chief *Vīra Pāñcālas* "made some grants"[75]: the expression "chief" among alludes to a further classification even in this group of workers, revealing how these *Vīra Pāñcālas* must have been wealthy enough to issue grants on their own to persons of their choice. In the same year they paid a number of taxes,[76] implying their financial status and capacity to pay a variety of dues. Not only this, but they could also revise their own grants. In 1315 when Vīra Ballāḷa Devarasa was ruling, certain carpenters, blacksmiths and all the *Vīra Pāñcālas* granted "after revision" a grant to god Allāḷanātha.[77] In the reign of the same monarch, more is heard of these craftsmen. An epigraph relates how these craftsmen met occasionally together and regulated their rates of wages. This high sense of guild organisation and solidarity is commendable. We are told how, within the Hoysaḷa kingdom, in all the sacred *tīrthas*, places were set apart for ministers, favourites, *nāyakavādis* and children and in the great houses of Śrīpura, all members of the *Vīra Pāñcāla* guild were to obtain pay according to the regulation of their *Vaḍippaṇa* of Pañca Karakahala, for building the Cokkappa's tank.[78] This class of the *Pāñcāla*s also appears to have had a specified usage (*Vaḍippaṇa*) which they must have scrupulously followed. It is no wonder that such admirable trade unionism made them prosperous as later inscriptions prove. All these *Vīra Pāñcālas* traced their descent to Viśvakarma, the architect of the Gods, and consequently called their guild *Viśvakarmākula*.[79]

The Material Prosperity of the Pāñcālas

In Vijayanagara times the *Pāñcālas*, without any doubt, flourished. In 1372 for example they issued an interesting inscription euologising their own guild. They called themselves *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras*, the original representatives of the Manu race and considered their character "incomparable". They delighted not only in Parabrahma but were also the creators of the fourteen worlds. They made countless inquiries regarding all types of seeds and plants, alluding to their interest in horticulture, of course from a commercial angle and it is not unlikely that some of

them had trade interests in such commodities which commanded a wide market. They also took interest in scholarship. They were versed in "weighing and comparing" the *Vedas*, science, logic, grammar and poetry. This claim was presumably imaginary for engrossed in their commercial and respective vocations, it could never have been possible for them to indulge in all such scholarly pursuits. Their material prosperity is reflected in their worldly possessions. They were distinguished not only for their cities and houses, but also their islands, hill forts and forest citadels. This claim may be taken to imply that they were known or lived in those places and not necessarily owned them. In addition we are told they were "all the five foundations . . domes, pinnacles, crests, and the sixteen signs of their original houses, the sign of the sacrificial hall, the sign of the slopes, according to standard rules." These claims indicate that they were the followers of the *Śilpa Śāstras*.

Their professional attainments are also not forgotten. They were experts in reading, writing, arithmetic and "the deceptions of skilful men"—an asset of good business acumen! In addition they claimed to be authorities "on the creations of mansions . . adorners of Śrīparvata (Śrīśailam), were read deeply in all the sciences of languages and the *Purāṇas*, "to the utmost limits". This was another of their rather tall claims of scholarship and incidentally of knowledge.

Another characteristic of this guild was that they were fond of and merciful to war elephants. Why they made this assertion is not known unless we are to infer they considered war elephants as the protectors of their freedom since such animals were the most important wing in the armies of their days.

Another of their fictitious claims was that, though they were afraid of worldly illusions, they were as accomplished as Rāma, "boon-lords of Piṇḍotipura(?) and cages of adamant to refugees." The identification of this city is not possible: we find that they were philanthrophic enough to provide shelter to refugees, whose welfare was not left entirely to the State.

Another aspect of the materiel prosperity and their attitude to the fine arts like dancing. The afore mentioned inscription further records how these *Vīra Pāñcālas*, as in the Hoysaḷa days, met together and granted a charter (*śāsana*) to provide for dancing girls who had to perform before God Ramānātha of Vijayapura. In conformity with ancient usage, a member of the guild, Rāmaṇṇa, with pouring of water, presented Ketavve, to the temple as a dancing girl and, in order to support her, each village was required to contribute its stipulate quota, but what it was has not been precisely stated. In all likelihood the contribution must have been in kind mainly rice and similar articles for her maintenance.[80]

Some Rights of the Craftsmen

The craftsmen had certain rights or privileges, which are sometimes specified in their inscriptions and some of them may be cited to serve as illustrations. In

1427 the *Nagaratāra Pāñcālas* met and conferred on two persons a grant,[81] showing how such a corporate body had the power to issue grants on their own. Besides such privileges, they were themselves paid certain dues. In 1554 these *Pāñcālas* during the Car (*rathotsava*) and other festivals, not mentioned, were granted certain contributions. Such rights of these artificers were no doubt hereditary. A record of the same year (1554) reveals how, seeing that disputes would arise between the cultivators (*haḷagaru*) and the artificers (*Pāñcālas*), in the presence of Tirumala Rājaya, inquiring into *former rights of the artificers*, Rāma Rajaya and Tirumala Rājaya decreed that they should be assigned to the artificers of the southern street of Belūru and to the cultivators only the back row for dwellings, from the Vīrabhadra temple in the east to the southern fort on the west and added also some houses.[82]

This inscription confirms the statement of Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador to the court of Deva Rāya II, that the artificers had separate quarters for their residence.[83] The contributions mentioned earlier were not only from the general public but also from the State. A contemporary inscription reveals how "the kings, who shall arise in Vijayanagara in devotion to that Cennaya Rāya, may not refuse to grant the contributions to the artificers for the car and other festivals, without incurring the wrath whereby he destroys his enemies," thus ensuring provision for their future welfare.

Precautions for the Preservations of the Grants

Such grants were not made for temporary purposes or for certain specific periods. For the preservation of such grants curses were inscribed on such grants against the obliteration or theft or disfigurement by either private or public agencies. On the epigraph noted earlier, runs the curse: "Whoso violates this decree given to the artificers forfeits the favour of Cenniga Rāya."[84] Similarly in that epigraph runs another malediction: "Whoso destroys this grant is put out of the *Pāñcālas*, out of his trade, out of the assembly and the *nāḍ*.[85] Thus for the preservasion of a grant, not only was the wrath of a deity invoked, but virtual ostracism from the guild, its trade, its assembly, and the region (*nāḍ*) itself prescribed. Such curses took on a religious tinge to have a salutary effect on possible thieves, in conformity with ancient usage. A grant of the 11th century records: "Those who destroy this (inscription) shall incur the sin committed by those who reside between the Ganges and the Kumārī."[86] Such imprecations became common in South India and sometimes wecross a dreadful curse. A Vijayanagara inscription of 1430 makes a frightful prophecy: "Whoso destroys this work of merit becomes a sinner born of an adultress or of a notoriously wicked woman, born of a vile woman or a Cāṇḍālī, a slaughterer of cows, drunkard, a murderer of a preceptor (*guru*), a wife and Brāhmaṇas or a thief of gold." How far such curses or threats proved really effective is not known but they probably had a salutary effect on thieves who wished to tamper with such grants.

Privileges and Restrictions of Artificers

Despite the corporate organisations of the artificers, sometimes quarrels broke out between them and cultivators. The disagreement mentioned in the grant of 1554 mentioned earlier between the *Pāñcālas* and the cultivators was for a year. The cultivators had objected to certain religious observances followed by the *Pāñcālas* but the latter being better organised, and also stronger from a financial angle, finally won the day. The more efficient organisation of those artificers enabled them to build not only houses but continue their religious practices and enjoy the privileges granted to them before. The inscription of 1555 continues: "According to the decision formerly given by Rāma Rājaya Tirumala Rājayya regarding the caste observances fixing the caste observances, fixing the southern street of Belur for them —stones were put up at the four boundaries (specified) within which the *Pāñcālas* might erect rows of houses, carry on their caste observances and make jewellery, enjoying in the temple of Cennigarāya the same privileges and positions as were granted to the *Pāñcālas* during the car festival in Vijayanagara."[87] During the reign of Raṅga Rāya II, in 1573 the *Pāñcālas* included in their guild five classes of artificers referred to earlier. They were certainly not exempt from taxation: even their anvils (*aḍe*) were taxed. One Rāja Vallabha Rājaya Deva Mahārasu remitted this tax to some of the *Pāñcālas* probably under his jurisdiction, thus: "The tax on the benches or anvils (*aḍe*) payable by you in the Budhila-*sīme* belonging to our office of *Amara Nāyaka*, we remit to you, in order that merit may accrue to our father Raṅga Rājayya. You, your sons and posterity, as long as the sun and moon endure, may live in peace without paying any *aḍe-vana*."[88] But at times they were also under restrictions too. A charter (*śāsana*) was granted in 1632 to the "*Pāñcāla* God" not specified, that, within the boundaries of a locality specified, they might perform their festivals and marriage processions. This implied that outside those limits they were precluded from celebrating their fesitvals or carrying out their marriage processions.

The Kammālans (Carpenters)

Another class of craftsmen, heard of in Vijayanagara, were the *Kammālans* who were also called *Kammālars* or *Kammāras*. They claimed to have been the descendants of Āryans who entered India across the Punjab in early times when they were known as *Viśva Brāhmaṇas* or *Deva Kammālas*. It may be recalled here how some of the artificers traced their origin to the divine architect *Viśvakarma*. Both of these claims must be discounted as purely fictitious for they cannot be substantiated. They are further claimed to have spread gradually towards the South and thence reached Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Java.[89] In South India they have been in existence from the times of the Coḷas when they were honoured for their professional skill. An epigraph of the Coḷa ruler Konerinmaikoṇḍan records how he

commanded that during marriages and funerals of the *Kammālars* double conches could be blown and drums beaten, they could wear sandals on the way to places they had to visit and that their houses could be covered with plaster.[90] The *Kammālars* were also granted plots of land with hereditary rights of succession.[91] According to another record, the carpenters (*Kammālars*) formed one of the units of the temple organisation of Coḷa times.[92]

These *Kammālars* were socially inferior to the Brāhmaṇas. In 1340, for example, the carpenter (*Kammālar*) Dāmoja worshipped the feet of the Brāhmaṇas of Brahmasamudra and presented to them five *pa(aṇ)* coins and they granted him a rent-free estate.[93]

The *Kammālars* worked hand in hand with the composers and engraved what the latter composed. For this engraving of inscriptions they were paid more in kind than in cash. One Vīraṇṇa, a son of Muddaṇācārya, was paid in 1455 one share in a grant for engraving that epigraph.[94] This craftsman's son Mallaṇa in 1474 was also paid likewise one share[95] as a similar payment for identical work.

These *Kammālars* were not exempt from taxation which, as noted earlier, the *Pāncālas* also had to pay. During the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya (1509-30) Sāḷuva Nāyakkar, governing the Tiruvāḍi-*sīme* in *śaka* 1440 exempted the *Kammālars* (carpenters) of that district from the payment of certain taxes.[96] They too made certain payments obligatory of course, on their own, to specific temples for particular purposes. A *Kammālar* paid forty *paṇams* to the temple of Umbaḷigamuḍiya Nāyanār for offerings during worship.[97]

In the Mallikārjuna temple at Śriśailam an iron lamp was set up by a certain Cakaiyya, son of a carpenter of Henjera, for the merit of Muddiyappa Nāyaka.[98] But still their professional taxation continued, even in the 16th century. The emperor Sadāśiva Rāya in 1554 remitted to the carpenters "the tax due by them" to the government.[99]

The Deities of Craftsmen

The craftsmen worshipped certain deities, who are sometimes mentioned in the inscriptions. It has already been noticed how specific craftsmen worshipped the deities Sokkaperumāḷ[100] and Allāḷanātha.[101] Another of the deities worshipped by them was Sarasvatī. The *Pāncālas* claimed themselves to have been "the abodes of perfumers of Sarasvatī with rare jasmines and ornaments in the ear of Sarasvatī."[102] They worshipped Kālikā (Kālī) and the god Kāmaṭheśvara,[103] whom they worshipped at Śrīśailam (probably Śiva) whose adorners they claimed to be.[104] Another of the gods the craftsmen worshipped was Umbaḷingamuḍaiya Nāyanār.[105]

The Dissolution of the Kammālar Guilds

In the 17th century the solidarity and unity of the *Kammalār* guilds began to

be disrupted. In *śaka* 1547 a royal writ was granted by Vīrappa Nāyka of Madurai to the five sects of this community, facilitating their separation from each other and consequent dismemberment but unfortunately the reason for this dissolution is not stated. This order did not emanate from the ruler but was the initiative taken by the sub-sects themselves. This can be inferred partly from the statement that the writ was a privilege granted in the presence of Udankuṭṭanam Anainjan who was evidently a leader of the *Kammālar* community. Before him the priest of the Erichcha Uḍaiyar temple at Velaṅkuri in Mullianāḍu decreed that the five sub-divisions of the *Kammālar* community would be prohibited from communal fellowship in accordance with the general order of the Nāyaka. This was done, it is said, for the benefit of their subordinates by the temple authorities.[106]

The Craftsmen in Verse

The craftsmen of the Vijayanagara period were commemorated by their poets in their verse. A Hoysaḷa poet of 1235 tells us how "the gold dealers in the town were able to ascertain the quality or the weight of precious metals and precious stones by handling them."[107] This eulogy of such craftsmen bears a close resemblance to a similar compliment paid to the Vijayanagara craftsmen who must have been seen by the poets who depict their activities. The poet Vīrabhadra Rāja, who flourished about 1530, thus describes a pearl shop: "There are innumerable pearl shops as if the stars have made their abode because this place is not polluted by Soma (Moon) with his darkened nature as the heaven (sky) always is."[108] About 1614 another poet, Pañcavana, who saw some goldsmiths, describes them thus: "The dealers in gold were telling weights without touching scales, finding equality without rubbing."[109] These jewellers were often depicted in contemporary verse. In *circa* 1648 the poet Bhārati tells us how "there were shops of white, red, big round pearls, fit for nose-rings and for necklaces."[110]

The Ideals of Craftsmen—Western and Eastern

Craftsmen, eastern and western, had their own ideals in the execution of their art. In the West, the artistic excellence of a figure was held to depend on the imitation of its natural counter-part. Leonardo da Vinci once remarked: "The most praiseworthy painting is that which has most conformity with the things represented." In plain terms, the painting, which is likest nature is the best. "Let the living", he tells us, "be reflected in a mirror, then put your picture besides the reflection and match the one with the other. And indeed the very best painting is unquestionably so like the mirrored truth, that all the world admit its excellence."[111] More than this, it was further demanded that an artist could never create if he was left to himself. "You cannot have a landscape by Turner without a country for him to paint," observed Ruskin, "you cannot have a portrait by Titian without a man to be portrayed."[112]

Indian Ideals of Art

The Indian ideals of art was diametrically opposed to that of the West. In fact, the Indian artist could create only when he was left to himself. This should not be taken to imply that Indian craftsmen could not either paint or carve either an image or a landscape from life. We have already seen how there were bronze images, which still survive, of the great Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya (cf. ante) and his two queens and of other royal personalities like Tirumala and Veṅkaṭa II. The Indian painter could also paint scenes from real life which evoked the admiration of outsiders like Paes, who saw them in the court of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya in 1520-22. But in the creation of imagery of deities, the Indian artist had to look into his own heart and create the image he had in mind. He had not only to gaze inwardly but had practically to exclude himself from the external trammels of this world and meditate on the deity he was about to create. Śukrācārya[113] had warned him that "the characteristic of an image is its power of helping forward contemplation and *yoga*. The human maker of images should therefore be meditative. Besides there is no other way of knowing the character of an image, even direct observation (is of no use)." Even when composing poetry the epic poet Vālmīki remarks in the *Bālakāṇḍa* before commencing his *Rāmāyaṇa* that he sought the real spirit of it in profound meditation and saw in reality all the characters and the actions that were to follow. This "willed introversion of a creative mind" as Jung called it, finally added greater vigour to the artist's creative power.[114] Foucher quotes an interesting account of a ritual of visualisation given in a passage of the *Sādhanamālā*.[115] It was reckoned impossible to create until the artist had in this way been inspired for the Buddhist inquired "Who should represent a god that has not seen him?" Therefore it was as good as understood that the artist's success depended on the power of his meditation, the outcome of which was the image. Moreover, the images were intended for the ignorant and the artist, who had primarily to become a *yogi* had to perceive Śiva in his heart:

> *Śivātmani paśyanti pratimāsu na yoginaḥ* |
> *Ajñānām bhāvanārthāya pratimā parikalpitāḥ* || [116]

Hence it may be stated that in most Indian sculptures is present generally a kind of impersonality. The artist had to so detach himself from his creation that he leaves no room for his individual fancies to mar the idealism in the facial expression of his image. The *Gītā* has well described this typical ideal.[117]

Therefore from an Indian point of view, the artist had always to keep himself apart from Art and individual self-expression. Hence he does not aim in fashioning his image merely at physical beauty, reproduction and perfection of form. This was because his concept of beauty had become completely oriented and was never influenced by any Western influences.

The vital issue in his ideal of beauty was restraint in representation. Śukrācārya

had commanded him: "The hands and legs (of an image) must have suppressed veins and the ankles must be hidden."[118] Therefore, one unware of this axiom of Indian iconography is led like Grunwedel and others to conclude erroneously of course that Indian craftsmen took no interest in the symmetrical training of the body. It was certainly not because they could not ape or portray human nature as they saw it but because they were inspired by their artistic ideals. Prior to the advent of the *Śilpa Śāstras*, Indian craftsmen probably imitated nature like the western artists and such representations reveal such imitative forms of what they must have seen.[119] Evidently the authors of the *Āgamas* must have studied the beauty of the human figure or else the detailed measurements and proportions they had laid down cannot easily be explained. Even later, for example, when Indian art was influenced by alien trends of art like the Gāndhāra culture, our craftsmen for a time seem to have been under their spell and virtually forgot their *Śilpa Śāstric* injuctions.

Such directives, of course, no doubt checked the real freedom of artistic expression. So when Tāntric ideas crept into Indian religious thought the creative instinct of the Indian artist was to a certain extent cramped and deities came to be represented by the exhibitions of various hands and their manifold attributes.[120] Thus the various weapons, which an image clasped in its hands and the pose it maintained, came to represent its qualities and their nature. Hence the *sāttvika* image had the *yoga mudrā*, conferring boons and encouraging the surrounding worshippers. The fiercer or *rājasika mudrā* (pose) depicts an image, decked with a variety of weapons, seated on a vehicle (*vāhana*) offering solace or granting boons to its devotees. The fiercest type was the *tāmasika* pose depicting a form terrible, armed and destroying the demons,[121] symbolising evil. All these types of art exist in Vijayanagara art. Such representations of images with many hands and arms was nothing unusual for the greatest artists have always adopted such forms to personate unity, vitality, infinity, repose, the four essential qualities of genuine artistic expression. All these aspects, however, have rarely been combined in one single work of art. Therefore, as Havell once observed rightly, "In Indian art the ideal and the practical act or react upon each other to such an extent that it is impossible for the outsider to understand fully the one without the other."[122] Consequently to understand and appreciate an image of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya it is essential to know, not only the costume and ornaments of his time, but also the pose (*mudrā*) which his figure represents. This is because the Indian artist takes for granted certain concepts which, according to him, are well known to all his countrymen. Hence in this image, the *śilpin* expects us to know that the great Vijayanagara emperor is in an *añjali* pose, wearing the typical ornaments and costume of his day. This is the very keynote of Indian art which is a manifestation of symbolism traditional and believed to be generally familiar to at least many.

Of course the Indian craftsman sought for beauty only through ideal forms. His aim was rarely to represent nature as it appeared to him because he never attempted to imitate but only aimed at creation of a spiritual nature. "He desired

to suggest the idea behind sensuous appearance, not to give the detail of the seeming reality that was in truth but Māyā, illusion."[123] Śukrācārya moreover believed that "the images of men, even if well-formed are never for human good."[124] According to him "The images of God yield happiness to men and lead to heaven but those of men lead away from heaven and yield to grief. But the images of Gods, even if deformed, are for the good of men."[125] In spite of this rather strict injuction, the subject matter of Indian art has not been exclusively religious. Thus, the main chapter of the *Citralakṣaṇa* is occupied with the ideal canon for a *cakravartin* and the Mathura portraits of the Kuṣāṇa kings are probably of this type. Later on are found in Pallava art the well-known sculptures of Mahendravarman and Siṁhaviṣṇu. Moreover, the sculptor's task in his creative process was simplified when the measurements, the ornamentation and costume of images were specified. This therefore gives us an idea of studying a phase of the social life of the sculptor's days. On gazing at Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's image, for instance, an exact idea can be obtained of the *kullāyi* (cap) which he used.

Nevertheless an idea of beauty existed in the *Śilpa Śāstras*. The *śilpins* were always advised to follow the *Śāstras* for, to stray from their injunctions, was to them an error of judgment. No wonder Śukrācārya observed "The image constructed fully according to the prescribed limbs, is beautiful and daily decreases grief."[126] This restriction virtually made the sculptor a slave of custom denying to him all originality.

Another point the *Śilpa Śāstrins* insisted on was proportion, the achievement of which was to them beauty itself. Therefore that image, which was in conformity with the specific proportions was considered the most beautiful.[127] While such an injuction developed in craftsmen an adherence to the principle of precision, it simultaneously restrained freedom of his hand and the vision of his mind. Nevertheless the *śilpins* remembered the principle that beauty was relative in its appeal and hence that which satisfied the heart of certain individuals was beautiful only to them.[128] It is worth noting that, to the authors of the *Śilpa Śāstras*, youth was beauty and beauty, youth. Hence the craftsman was advised to always design aspects of youth, very rarely of childhood and never that of old age.[129] An allusion is made probably to the same principle when the artist is advised that icons should always be without beards and eye-lids and should suggest an approximate age of sixteen years. They should be draped in fine clothes, wear rich and lovely ornaments, be painted with the brightest colours and covered up to the feet by their wear.[130] Despite their insistence on proportions, they knew very well that such an achievement was not an easy matter, and it is not strange to find that "It is one in a lakh that is produced beautiful in all limbs."[131] Such an image could be fashioned only by experts who, being difficult to find, could be imitated to achieve good results. "So it was suggested that those limbs are beautiful which are either more or less in measurement than the limbs of images prepared by experts."[132] As to the thickness, it was left to individual discretion and accordingly it was laid down that "there is no rule about the thick-

ness but it should be made as to how it appears beautiful and those which are to please all must not be either too thin or thick."[133] Consequently it was not surprising that they prescribed that "one should design for all the limbs a grace that is suited to each."[134] It was further suggested that an image to be beautiful ought to be of a contemplative mood with eyes bespeaking satisfaction. Hence it was declared that the characteristic of an image is its power of helping forward contemplation and *yoga*.[135]

The Indian *śilpin* had an ideal of his own. A Tamil *Śilpa Śāstra* lays down that "One adorned with a necklace of sacred beads, the sacred thread on him, a ring of *darbhā* grass on his finger, delighting in the worship of God, faithful to his wife, avoiding strange women, true to his family, of a pure mind and virtuous, he is a *śilpin*." Girded with a silk-like cord made of fibre, chanting the *Veda*, constant in the performance of ceremonial acts, the *śilpin* follows his profession.[136] This pious temperament is noticed especially in Vijayanagara inscriptions which sometimes allude to the attitude required in artisans. In an epigraph of 1388 the composer and engraver make an obseisance to God thus: "Obeisance to Rāmacandra. He, in whose hairs are the clouds, all whose limbs are the rivers or currents are in the seas, in whose stomach are the four oceans—to that spirit of the waters obeisance! Great good fortune!"[137] This prayer reveals not only the piety requisite in craftsmen but also the depth of their imagination.

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CHAPTER NINE

PAINTING AND OTHER FINE ARTS

PAINTING in the sphere of Vijayanagara Art played an important role and its influence cannot be underestimated when compared with those of the theatre, music and dancing. There is not sufficient data to give a connected account of Vijayanagara painting but some significant details about it can be presented from the few paintings which have survived at Ānegundi, Vijayanagara, Lepākṣi, Tiruparuttikunram and Madura to mention the most important regions. In Vijayanagara there were three types of painting: frescoes on the walls, imagery, silk, cloth (cotton) and canvas. In the frescoes, the figures were first drawn in red, then with yellow and blue pigments and finally outlined with powerful dark colours. The next system of painting was on images, probably to give the figures a realistic touch and depict them as they probably were in real life. This method of attempting at realism can still be seen on some of the extant images, as will be shown later. The third media of painting on silk and similar bases have not survived but their existence was noticed by contemporary travellers who have left us good accounts of such paintings.[1]

Painting in the 14th Century—Frescoes in 1378

There can be no doubt that painting must have been in vogue in the second half of the 14th century. According to an inscription of 1378[2] there were frescoes

on the walls but whether of houses or temples, it is not specified. The inscription runs thus:

"On his (Harihara's) making the *Hemādri* gift (*dāna*) to Brāhmaṇas, according to rules, the gods forsook their pleasant abodes in paradise and resorting to *sattras* of the *agrahāras* he had established, dwelt unknown to him in their pictures on the walls."[3]

This epigraph is important from an artistic point of view for it reveals to us positively that mural painting was in vogue in 1378 as in that year it was issued. About this there cannot be any doubt for it is clearly stated therein that the divinities, after forsaking their heavenly abodes, came to dwell in the pictures of such celestials painted on the walls of the *sattras* (rest houses) of their *agrahāras* (Brāhmaṇa settlements) but where it is not stated. We may safely state that this type of painting was in Vijayanagara itself for the celebrated capital Vijayanagara was built after July, 1368 and before November 1368.[4] That they were murals cannot be doubted for the text states thus *sattreśucitreśarudha-guḍha-bhavaṁ*[5] clearly implies that the frescoes were pictures (*citra*) of gods drawn on the walls of the rest-houses (*sattra*) in the capital itself. Such paintings were current in 1378 during the reign of Harihara not of the 1st of that name but of the second as he was ruling in the capital in that year. It has been stated rightly that Harihara II reigned between 1376 and 1404 and the frescoes in question were painted in his third regnal year. It is regrettable that there is no trace of them in any place in Vijayanagara.

Paintings at Tiruparuttikunram[7] (*1387-88*)

Tiruparuttikunram is a village on the outskirts of Kāñci (Tamil Nāḍu) and it was one of the four Jaina Seats of Knowledge (*Vidyāsthānas*), which has become renowned for a series of paintings which are entirely different from the other types of painting found in the Vijayanagara empire between 1346 and 1646. The frescoes in this place are found in the Saṅgīta *Maṇḍapa* built by Irugappa, a general and minister of Bukka Rāya II, in the year *Parābhava* (1387-88) at the instance of his preceptor Puṣpasena and the *maṇḍapa* was also paved with granite for the specific object of holding musical concerts and hence its name came to be known as Saṅgīta *Maṇḍapa* (Musical Hall).[8] The ceiling of this *maṇḍapa* bears paintings which may be definitely assigned to the Vijayanagara period unlike the frescoes on the ceiling of the frontal porch (*mukhamaṇḍapa*) of the Vardhamāna temple which was a Coḷa construction as it has an inscription on its verandah of Kulottuṅga III who has been assigned to the Later Coḷa period.[9] Its ceiling depicts some paintings which are badly damaged and cannot be assessed from any artistic angle.

The frescoes, on the other hand, in the Saṅgīta *Maṇḍapa* depict a series of life-stories of the twenty-four Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras*,[10] a *tīrthaṅkara* being one free from

from action and desire, a founder of the four Orders (*tīrthas*) collectively constituting the Communion or *Saṅgha*.[11] The paintings are arranged in convenient groups: two running from north to south and two from the east to west in the ceiling of the Saṅgīta *Maṇḍapa* while another group of paintings runs from north to south on the ceiling of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* already mentioned. They are comprised in rows of panels: one after the other, with a narrow band running between every two rows to serve as labels for explaining the incidents depicted in the frescoes. These rows portray the life-legends of the *tīrthaṅkaras*: Ṛṣabhadeva, the first *tīrthaṅkara* and Nemināthа, the twenty-second *tīrthaṅkara* and his cousin Kṛṣṇa, with explanatory labels below each painting. In some of these the letters have been so completely erased that the existing words make little sense. In the case of these paintings, however, the usual labels explaining the incidents painted are absent and the reason cannot be easily elucidated for it cannot be stated with certainty whether it was deliberate or through inadvertance or some other reason.

The Subject Matter of the Tiruparuttikunram Frescoes

These paintings deal with a variety of subjects. In the panels dealing with Ṛṣabhadeva's life, the king (Śrīsena Mahārāja) and his queen wear elaborate head-gears slightly conical (*kirīṭas*), faintly reminiscent of the typical Vijayanagara *kullāyi*. The queens, sometimes, having no such head-gear, are seen with garlands of gems in their hair (coiffures), draped in *sāris*, fringed with a white border. The kings also wear *dhotis* and jackets, white in colour or occasionally spotted.[12] Sometimes, however, the queens also wear crowns of a similar type.[13] Nature is not forgotten and trees are painted but from a purely conventional angle, looking like sticks with a fan-like projection representing branches. The Jaina sages (*munis*) or priests have their heads shaved but are usually painted, showing the knowledge symbol (*jñānamudrā*), the first finger touching the thumb.[14]

Ṛṣabhadeva's marriage festivities are also portrayed. He is first shown as teaching the world the professions, trade, agriculture and so forth, classifying them into castes named after their professions.[15] They are accompanied by drummers and others striking up a hand and making music. In this painting also the *Laukika* Devas wear the typical head-dress worn by the kings and also their queens, the *kirīṭa* or the crown.

In depicting natural scenery conventional motifs are predominant. In depicting trees sometimes more details are furnished. Instead of merely painting them like sticks topped with fan-like projections, they are decorated with branches. We also find palm trees with five large line-like leaves on each side and two palm fruits, one on each side protruding out.

In this series of Ṛṣabhadeva's life-story, he is sometimes painted as though wrapt in deep meditation.[16] The *kāyotsarga*, symbolising the par excellence Jaina *muni* (sage) as in the case of the Kachcha and Mahākachcha and others, is also

revealed in these paintings.[17]

In some of these paintings appear certain phases of contemporary palace life. In one Śreyānkumāra is dreaming, a servant is fanning him with a round fan while he is reclining on his bed. Sometimes, the king Śreyānkumāra is seated on a couch along with another person, probably of his own status, contacting a messenger with a black-tufted head-gear and wearing a long tunic tied with a waist-belt. Śreyān kumāra also, in one case, offers some food to Ṛṣabhadeva from apparently a vessel placed on a stool like a cross-legged high stool, placed near them. A similar type of stool can also be noticed in the Vardhamāna panel in which that *tīrthaṅkara* is partaking of food offered by king Kula of Kulagrāma.[18]

Some further aspects of palace life and social affairs can be observed in the paintings pertaining to the life of Vardhamāna. Śacī, the wife of Saudhameṅdra, is seen riding on an elephant's back, fully caparisoned, preceded first by followers carrying flags and royal umbrellas. The flag is usually of one type as though split in the centre and such standards can be seen even today. This procession is comprised of horsemen, steeds richly caparisoned, with spotted coverings, king Saudhameṅdra proceeding first under a royal canopy (*chhatra*), symbolising his royal status and supremacy, on a gaily caparisoned horse and fanned by a servant with a circular and embroidered fan.[19] Occasionally there is a procession marching with flags, some on horse-back, some riding elephants, to witness the anointment ceremony of Vardhamāna whose actual coronation (*abhiśeka*) is also shown. The return of this party is also painted.

Apart from the horse and the elephant, often there was another mode of conveyance. That was the litter or the palanquin in which a king (Saṅgam) is borne, seated. It is depicted as a sort of a large enclosed seat, with two arms attached to it: one in front and the other behind. The front arm is carried on the shoulder by two bearers, preceded by a standard carrier while two fan-bearers are accompanying the palanquin. The back arm of the palanquin, behind the seated person, is borne usually by three servants.[20] A standard, an accompaniment, is sometimes adorned with spots.[21] Another mode of conveyance was the chariot drawn by horses, which were also employed for riding as noticed already.[22] The elephant was another means of transport.[23]

Occasionally emblems of honour can be observed in the paintings of the life of Vardhamāna and they were known as the *aṣṭa-maṅgalas*. The presiding divinities over the nine deities including the conch (*śaṅkha*), lotus (*padma*) can also be seen.

Aspects of Dancing in Painting

Certain aspects of dancing can also be found in these paintings. In the same series of frescoes pertaining to Vardhamāna's life, we find celestial ladies as well as nautch girls performing dances.[24] In the case of celestial women, some are perfoming the *kolāṭa* or stick-play, an entertainment so popular in Karnāṭaka among the

common people. Such dances can be seen on the friezes of the Victory Platform at Vijayanagara (cf. infra) though such a type of dancing was not confined either to Karnāṭaka or to the South as it can be noticed in the paintings of the Bāgh Caves. There was another unique though dangerous and risky type of dance by women holding a double-edged sword. We find them dancing, holding that dangerous weapon in the centre with both their hands, keeping it so close to their limbs as though it would hurt them while they are whirling about, entrancing and probably also thrilling their spectators, producing an artistic effect in their execution and a sense of approbation from their audience.[25]

The Kṛṣṇa Legend in Jaina Painting

In the series of paintings pertaining to Kṛṣṇa, referred to earlier, it is very interesting to note how the Jainas incorporated in their pantheon the Kṛṣṇa legend. The Great Yādava, Kṛṣṇa is made the cousin of the twenty-second *tīrthaṅkara* Neminātha. He is recounting the Yādava Kṛṣṇa's childhood sports, his fights with the demon Kaṁsa, his lifting the Mountain Govardhana, his performance of the Trivikrama (i.e. ascending the Nāga Śayana, blowing a conch and bending a bow),[26] phases from Kṛṣṇa's life. In this series, some paintings disclose the nature of the costumes worn by the characters in Kṛṣṇa's life: full-sleeved shirts (*kurtās*) striped, spotted, with waist-bands (*kammar bands*), knotted on the right side of the wearer.[27] The ladies are clad in *sāris* which are often depicted as striped although this was not invariably the case. Apart from the costume of the men, who so often figure in these frescoes, we find occasionally a wrestler in a short brief, tied round his waist, with a striped border which was very popular.[28]

Costumes of Men

The dress worn by men is often in evidence. In the series dealing with Ṛṣabhadeva's life, in one fresco, we find Vajranābhi with his brothers and their merchant friend proceeding to Vajrāsana Tīrthaṅkara to hear an exposition of the *Dharma*. They went in a procession riding an elephant, in a chariot, with their followers, fully robed in tunics up to the knees, spotted, carrying flags, split in the middle, as noticed earlier, attached to staffs.[29] Such standards were common as can be seen, for instance, in the procession proceeding to Pandukavana for the Brith-Day Anointment (*Janma-abhiśeka*) of Ṛṣabhadeva carried on an elephant's back.[30] The spotted costume is common in these frescoes even in the case of celestial ladies (*devis*) like Marudevī in Ṛṣabhadeva's life. The umbrellas, which they carried, are shown as open[31] and coloured either black or white. The canopy painted, black might have been coloured otherwise in reality and its real hue cannot be determined in a black and white print. The head-gears are sometimes queer. It is strange that in these Vijayanagara paintings their *kullāyi* or conical cap, whose several shapes

are known, is not seen but whether it was on purpose or from a conventional angle, it cannot be determined. In the Kṛṣṇa paintings, men and sometimes even the women, wear a head-gear like a Marāṭha *pāgoṭa*, a cap covering the entire head with a tuft or tassel in the centre.[31]

Types of Weapons

Occasionally the nature of the weapons employed by the contemporary people is shown in these paintings. We find swords,[32] bows and arrows which are visible flying in front of those using bows in a battle from archers on horse-back.[33] The saddles of horses are striped and the steeds are fully caparisoned. There, as noticed already, was another fierce weapon, the double-edged sword, utilised by women in a dance.

Kings Enthroned

Royal personalities are often depicted on their thrones. They sit under a canopy (*chhatra*) with jar-like emblems over such thrones. Whether they represented the symbolic pitcher (*pūrṇa-kumbha*) cannot be determined and in all probablity they were representations of such symbols in a slightly abbreviated form. Their numbers varied, perhaps depending on the status of the persons concerned. Sometimes they are five and sometimes they are eight but why they had such variations too cannot be explained.[34]

Estimate of the Paintings

The Jaina paintings of the Saṅgīta *Maṇḍapa* in the Vardhamāna temple at Tiruparuttikunram are noteworthy from the point of view of Jaina art of the Vijayanagara period. As noticed earlier, some of these frescoes belong to an earlier period but most of them pertain to Vijayanagara art. As the *maṇḍapa* itself was built by Irugappa, the minister and general of Bukka Rāya II, and a devoted follower of Jainism, these paintings illustrate the painter's craft towards the end of the 14th century. The themes are chosen from the life of Vardhamāna. The nativity scene shows Priyakāriṇī giving birth to the *tīrthaṅkara* Vardhamāna: most interesting is the theme of the child-birth both in South Indian paintings and carvings from Kerala where the *Rāmāyaṇa* provides the scope for illustrating this theme. The birth and anointment ceremony of the child by Sudharmendra accompanied by his wife Śaci is painted with elegance, and is quite typical in every respect of the form, department, ornamentation and decoration of the period. Equally interesting is Saudhamendra's dance before Vardhamāna, with his legs crossed in the *pād-svastika* posture.[35]

Episodes from the life of Ṛṣabhadeva depict how the Laukāntika Devas remind-

ed that *tīrthaṅkara* that it was opportune to renounce the world and proceed for his *dīkṣā*,[36] how Kaccha, Mahākachcha and others, deeply devoted to him, had also attempted to renounce but returned to their clothes and food, how Nāmi and Vināmi pleaded with Ṛṣabhadeva pray in deep contemplation to give them their share of the kingdom,[37] and how Dharmendra offered them the sovereignty of the Vidhyādhara world and the first *carya* of Ṛṣabhadeva—all related in great detail.[38]

In the frescoes depicting Kṛṣṇa's life, as a cousin of Nemināthа, incidents like Vasudeva's reception of the new-born Kṛṣṇa, his crossing of the Yamunā, passing on the child to Naṅda Gopa, the *bāla-līlas* of Kṛṣṇa,[39] his slaughter of the various Asuras, Śakaṭa, Dheṇuka, etc. and all such incidents are portrayed vividly and in an interesting manner.

Commenting on this school of painting, Goetz observed that "The earliest ceiling paintings at Tiruparatikunram differ hardly from the Coḷa type. In the later friezes at Tiruparatikunram a simple style is reached, very similar to early Rajput and Assamese painting of the 16th century."[40] There is little justification for this type of criticism for these Tiruparuttikunram category of paintings are in a class by themselves and apart from any accidental similarity to early Coḷa or Assamese schools, they belong to an entirely different genre. They are conventional in their representation of almost everything they have depicted, viz. men, women, kings, queens, their modes of conveyance, even the animals, the trees, houses, in fact whatever their painters chose to paint. Their colours must have been fast, deep and strong. Their brushes must have been unusually fine to paint the delicate eyes of women, men, the beasts and birds, and to create an atmosphere so out of the way from the prevailing sphere of contemporary life.

These paintings, being in a class by themselves, cannot be considered on a par with the other Vijayanagara paintings, which pertain to a different and distinctly separate type. They are, on the other hand, reminiscent of Mughal miniatures, being rather characteristic in style, and detailed in scope and depth. The human figures, though conventionally drawn are fairly natural, though not entirely so, but the animals like the elephant, horse and bull, not to mention the occasional birds, were more naturally depicted. Each panel is in two parts: one upper and another below, maintaining a continuity in the narration of events in the lives of either Ṛṣabhadeva, Nemināthа, Vardhamāna or Kṛṣṇa, Nemināthа's cousin. The contours of the men, women, children and even the celestials, cannot be frankly called natural for they look cramped and in many cases indistinct and even shadowy. In the cases of the women, however, either celestial or mortal, their actions are more lively and natural and similarly the litheness of the movements of the animals is more realistic. The forms of the Laukāṅtika Devas[41] are also rather stereo-typed in form though not in their costumes, head-gears or weapons. Even in the portrayal of common trees, a conventional usage was employed as noted earlier and they are painted in three types: in probably earlier frescoes in this class, they look like a type of fans attached to poles to represent the stems of trees. In another variety, to indicate branches

similar fans are drawn while in a third class their leaves usually five in number are shown in lines on either side with one large palm (cocoanut) hanging out on either side. Such representations look purely conventional. Such a stiffness is apparent even in human figures. For instance in a picture of a fight between Kṛṣṇa and Aparājita (a son of Jarāsandha) such an artificiality is evident,[42] or in Kṛṣṇa's fight with Jarāsandha himself.[43] Details, though furnished in these paintings, are not usually very precise in respect of costume, physiognomy, natural phenomena like trees, hills, clouds, conveyances, litters, umbrellas and thrones.[44]

Murals in the Maṇḍapa of the Virūpākṣa Temple, Vijayanagara

But the above observations cannot be applicable to the murals in the *maṇḍapa* of the Virūpākṣa temple. This shrine must have been built in the earlier half of the 14th century. As shown earlier (ch. I ante), in an inscription of 1347 we are told that Vīra Mārappa Voḍeyar made obeisance to Virūpākṣa (Śiva), implying his worship of that deity, whose temple must have existed by then. It is certain that such a temple must have been built before 1506 for in that year Vīra Narasiṁha, the usurpur, made gifts in the Virūpākṣa shrine (cf ante). Fortunately four important paintings in the *maṇḍapa* (pavilion) of that shrine can be noticed in illustrations 3, 4, 5 and 6 (infra) and they may be examined seriatim. (I am thankful to my younger daughter Dr Vijya Saletore for assistance in identifying nos 4 and 6). *Brahmā-Śatarūpā.* This painting is styled in the Archaeological Survey of India Album as Brahmā-Brāhmaṇa. This is not acceptable. This mural cannot be styled Brahmā-Brāhmaṇa because it does not conform to the legend concerning that incident in Brahmā's life. According to one legend Brahmā once desired to offer a sacrifice and for that purpose, as he had to be a Brāhmaṇa, he transformed himself into one and from his own body produced another woman whose presence was necessary in performing that rite. When she came forth, Brahmā's wife Sarasvatī saw her and would not tolerate her presence. Hence there was a confrontation between the two deities and through Brahmā's good offices the quarrel was patched up and peace restored between them. The painting in question does not represent that legend as we do not see Sarasvatī and any sign of that confrontation. On the other hand, there is another legend which can be traced in this mural. In almost all the *Purāṇas*, Brahmā is called the Four-Faced (*Caturmukha*) and to substantiate that feature a legend was invented. The *Matsya Purāṇa* (183, 84-86) tells us that Brahmā once created an extremely bright and lovely woman from one half of his body and she was called Śatarūpā (one with hundred forms). Her extraordinary beauty entranced him so much that he could not bear this most lovely woman, whom he married, to be out of his sight even for a moment. When she began to move, as he could not turn round and round every time she moved, he created from his own self, four faces so that he could see her in whichever direction she went. But, when she began to rise up in the air, he could not behold her so he created another face on the top

of his matted head. These heads made Brahmā so conceited that he boasted to Śiva "I am first, who created existence in this world. I am therefore the eldest, viz. the senior-most." This infuriated Śiva and, plucking Brahmā's fifth head, he flung it away. Since then Brahmā has been having only four heads.

Brahmā in Sculpture

Brahmā, the first deity in the Hindu Triad, though the God of Creation, like Viṣṇu and Śiva, is not worshipped. According to the *Mānasāra*, a standard work on sculpture, Brahmā is usually depicted with four hands, four heads, one body, either seated or standing. The palm of his lower left hand confers boons (*varada*), the lower right hand assures protection or shelter (*abhaya*), and the corresponding upper hands clasp the water-pot (*kamaṇḍalu*) and the rosary (*akṣamālā*) or occasionally the sacrificial ladle (*srik*) and the spoon (*sruva*). His ornaments are (a) ear-rings or pendants with a crocodile's face (*makara-karṇa-kuṇḍala*); (b), the sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) trailing from the left shoulder; (c), a scarf (*uttarīya*) flung round the neck, stretching to the knees, (d), the *udarabandha* (girdle) passing round the stomach, (e) neck-lace, arm-lets, arm-rings, wristlets, anklets, waist-zone, finger-rings, all-gemmed; (g) hair tied into a knot (*jaṭā-makuṭa*); (h) and he is accompanied by two goddesses, Sarasvatī on his right and Sāvitrī on his left. (Cf. Sastri, *South Indian Gods and Goddesses*, pp. 10-11). He is also depicted as riding in a chariot yoked to seven swans (*hamsa*), wrapt in deep meditation, and seated on a full-blown lotus. Brahmā and Sarasvatī can be seen in a sculpture at Kaṇḍiyūr, (op. cit. fig. 9), standing either at Mahābalipuram (fig. 6) or at Kumbhakoṇam (fig. 7) and on his swan vehicle at Cidambaram (fig. 10).

The Mural in the Virūpākṣa Temple Maṇḍapa

In this mural, Brahmā is shown as seated with a woman (Śatarūpā) enthroned on his left thigh, fully draped and ornamented and clasped with his front left hand. His three faces, front and two on either side can also be clearly noticed. He is wearing a *dhoti* streatching right up to his feet, and it is enriched with a rich and broad border. His breast is bare, and he has on a wide sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*). His neck ornaments, arm-lets, shoulder-rings are all there, including rings on his fingers. His waist-band, triple-zoned is clearly visible and his front back hand holds probably the *srik* and the *akṣamālā*. He wears a mighty crown but his fifth head is not visible and this painting apparently represents the stage after he had lost his fifth head.

Tripurāntaka. This painting is not Kāma Deva, as stated in the Album but Tripurāntaka also known as Purārī. This is a manifestation of Śiva of which in the *Śilpasāra* sixteen are mentioned. There are two versions of the incident concerning this personality. It is said that Śiva assumed this form when he slew the three demons called Tripura and reduced their three cities to ashes. In that

campaign, the earth became Śiva's chariot, the Sun and Moon, its wheels, the four *Vedas*, its four horses, the *Upaniṣads* its guiding reins, the mythical golden mountain Maṅdāra, his bow, the mighty ocean, his quiver, and god Viṣṇu, his arrow.

Tripurāṅtaka in Sculpture. His images depict him with his right leg placed firmly on a pedestal, his left leg slightly bent. In his right forehand, held in the *siṁha-karṇa mudrā* (pose), he wields the bow and in his left fore-arm, his arrow. In his other hands, he holds the axe (*taṅka*) and the deer (*mṛga*) while the goddess Gaurī stands to his left. This is how he is depicted at Cidambaram. (Sastri, op. cit., fig. 90, p. 142). He is also represented in other forms: alternate positions of the leg, existence or otherwise of the demon Apasmāra beneath one of them. He is also sculptured with eight or ten arms. With ten arms he sits in a chariot with his right knee placed firmly in front of his right and in front of that vehicle sits Brahmā and below him is a white bull, drawing it. (Sastri, op. cit., p.142 fig. 90). The actual fight between Śiva and the demon Tripura is shown on a sandal-wood carving (*J.I.B.*, XV, no. 119, fig. 12).

The legend in the *Padma Purāṇa* (ch. 14) relates that, when Subrahmaṇya (a form of Śiva) slew Tārakāsura, the Asura leader, the Asuras became very weak. At that stage Kamalākṣa, Tārakākṣa and Vidyumali, the sons of Tārakāsura, after performing very severe penances, secured from Brahmā a boon that they would live for a thousand [years in three separate cities, that they should exist separately and that they could be slain only when they came together and that too only by one arrow. At their request, Maya built for them three cities: one of gold, which Tārakākṣa took, another of silver which went to Kamalākṣa and the third city of iron fell to Vidyumali's lot. These cities were built by Maya in *svarga* (heaven), *ākāśa* (sky) and the *pṛthvī* (the earth). Each city was empowered to travel anywhere it liked and its control was left to Bāṇa, a demon devotee of Śiva. These three cities were called Tripura. After a thousand years, Brahmā's stipulated period, during which the Asuras had waxed very haughty, the gods (*devas*) being deeply aggrieved, approached Śiva to rid them of those demons and Śiva agreed. He made Mandāra, the mythical mountain, his bow; installed Agni, the Fire-God, at its tip, and Vāyu, the Wind-God, at the bottom of his arrow. Four gods (*devas*) stood as his horses yoked to his chariot, the earth, and on its wheels, at different points stood the Aśvins, on its spokes remained Cakrapāṇi (to whom there is dedicated a temple at Kumbhakoṇam, (Tamil Nāḍu), and its spokes were guarded by the Gaṅdharvas, while Indra was on the bow, and Vaiśravana (Kubera) was on the arrow. Yama stood on the left, and Brahmā was the charioter. By a strange coincidence when these three cities came together in the skies, Śiva split them with his three-forked spike and, by shooting one arrow, reduced them to dust. (Cf.*Bhāgavata*, *Skaṅda*, ch. 31-34; *Padma Purāṇa*, ch. 33, *Karṇa Parva*).

Tripurāṅtaka in Painting

Tripurāṅtaka, as described in the *Bhāgavata* and *Padma Purāṇa*, is represented

in this most interesting mural in the Virūpākṣa temple. Śiva is shown here as a well-built, very muscular person, with four hands, the frontal two wielding the mighty bow on which are depicted god Agni and Vaiśravaṇa is shown as the arrow. Śiva's two back hands are also visible, the right one showing the assurance of protection (*abhaya*) and the left one displaying the *śrik*. Protecting Śiva is a mighty five-hooded snake, his charioteer is the four-faced (Caturmukha) Brahmā whose four faces can be distinctly seen, with his four crowns. He is driving four horses (representing the four *Vedas*) and to the left of these horses is another five-hooded snake. Śiva's mighty bow is the Maṅdāra mountain, slightly taller than Śiva himself. Behind him is a snake-bodied deity with a human form above the waist, holding an umbrella to shield Śiva. The Sun and Moon are above him, the moon shown as a dark circle while the sun is depicted as a bright one. Beneath the umbrella is a figure, which appears like that of Garuḍa. Śiva wears a garland of skulls (*muṇḍa-mālā*). Now we may turn to the three orbs, which are in front of Śiva and to them is directed his all-mighty arrow. One sphere is at the top and represents probably the golden city while below to the right is another depicting a figure, who is dark and opposite him slightly fairer, both armed with powerful swords and round shields (typical Vijayanagara weapons) and this evidently represents the iron city. Opposite this darkish orb is another one probably depicting the silver city, disclosing two persons with similar weapons, seated opposite one another. Above both of these two globes is another showing a standing figure with what appear like flames behind his head (Agni) and on either side of him are two dancing girls. Probably this was a symbol for the golden city.

The figures, both of the men, animals like the horses and snakes (apparently Vāsuki ahead of Śiva and Śeṣa abreast of the four horses), and the common people in the three rings and the birds like peacocks in front of Śiva,—are all drawn with spirit and accuracy. This is a most interesting painting of the 14th century.

Kāma Deva

Another unique painting of this group is that of Kāma Deva in his last foolhardy attempt to excite Śiva. Kāma is also known as Manmatha and Pradyumna according to Amara, the lexicographer. He is recognised as the son of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu and his consort is Ratī (Love). According to legend when Umā-Satī, on being insulted by her father Dakṣa, who had not invited her husband Śiva, though all the other deities had been welcomed for a *yajña* (sacrifice), perished in a self-created fire. The gods, fearing that no progency would emanate from Śiva, approached Brahmā and at his instance Kāma Deva, the Love God, tried to excite Śiva, wrapt in deep meditation. When Kāma shot his flowery arrow at Śiva, he opened his third eye and in the fire which issued from it, Kāma perished. Though not visible to any one, he is believed to be seen only by Ratī, his beloved wife. (Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, chs. 51, 53).

Kāma in Sculpture

Kāma is portrayed in sculpture with his wife Ratī as the embodiments of matchless grace, beauty and elegance. Kāma is shown with eight hands in four of which he holds the conch, the lotus, bow and arrow. His other four arms embrace his four lovely consorts: Ratī, (Love), Prītī (Pleasure), Śaktī (Power) and Bheda-Śaktī (Jealousy). He has five arrows, bearing the flowers of the lotus, Aśoka, mango, jasmine and the blue-lily. His bow is made of sugar-cane and his ensign is the crocodile, (*makara*). He is often depicted with only two hands driving a chariot yoked to a parrot, with his chief consort Ratī by his side. His intimate ally and friend is Spring (Vasanta) (cf. fig. 51, Sastri, op. cit., p. 63). According to the *Mayamata*, his arrows are made of the cruel teeth of women and called *tāpani* (the tormentor), *dāhini* (the consumer), *sarva-mohini* (the complete infatuator), and *viśva-mardini* (all-destroyer) (Cf. Sastri, op. cit., p. 62).

Kāma Deva in Painting

Kāma Deva is finely represented in the mural in the Virūpākṣa temple at Vijayanagara. Kāma is portrayed as standing in a chariot with the superstructure of a temple, which has the typical Vijayanagara roof, a little *gopura* and the *garbhagṛha* behind it. Kāma is standing, shooting his mighty arrow with a flower apparently of the lotus at a figure wrapt in deep meditation but surprisingly his eyes are open while he is seated in the *padmāsana* with the *tripuṇḍra* symbols on his limbs, his hands folded, and snakes flanking him on either side and trailing their tails down beneath him in a loop. Kāma is fully dressed with a spotted *dhoti*, a long shawl, which droops in front of him in a curve, and falls on either side of him in graceful folds. He wears a waist-band, and he has ear-rings, arm-lets and shoulder-bands, and he is here depicted with only two hands, wielding his bow and arrow. He is kneeling down on his right knee and with his left knee slightly bent is shooting his great arrow, graced with a flower. He is standing apparently on his chariot whose wheels are visible and it is yoked to the traditional parrot, which is clearly discernible. Behind him stands a lady, evidently Ratī, with her hands raised as though in a reverential attitude. This is a rare and beautiful painting of the 14th century.

Vidyā Ratha (*Vidyātīrtha*). The fourth notable painting in the Virūpākṣa temple is labelled in the Archaeological Album as Vidyā-Ratha evidently a slip for Vidyātīrtha. It depicts an elderly person being carried in a palanquin. Who this person is can be decided only with the assistance of internal evidence. If this person is intended to represent an elderly personality, then he may be identified with one of the *Rāja-Gurus* or the Royal Preceptors of the emperors of Vijayanagara. I suggest that this elderly figure may be identified with the celebrated Vidyāraṇya, who was probably the third successor of Kriyāśakti, the first *Rāja-Guru* of those rulers. An inscription of 1376 records that "He (Bukka) with the assistance of Vidyātīrtha *muni*, became very great, the earth being as his wife, and the four

oceans his treasury." (*EC.*, IV, Yd 46, p. 58). It has been well observed that, on the nearing of the completion of Vijayanagara in 1378, that monarch agreed to be guided by that *Rāja Guru* (Saletore, *SPL*, I, pp. 110, 112), who in 1378 was a minister of Bukka Rāya's son Yadugiri Virūpaṇṇa Rāya, then governor of the Araga kingdom. In another inscription, this sage is called Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda (*E.C.*, VI, Kp 30), whose services were transferred to the capital. In that year Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda must have left the Araga capital for Vijayanagara and this painting apparently portrays the departure of that sage in a palanquin.

The painting in question shows clearly an elderly man (not a woman as one might suppose) who is showing two *mudrās* with his hands and is seated in the *padmāsana*. He is sitting in a palanquin, which has a circular roof, whose arms descend in curves on either side for the bearers to carry on their shoulders. The sage is draped in a loose cloth covering his head and limbs. He has behind him a back-rest which shines, as though it was made of glass but was obviously of some shining metal like brass. The palanquin is carried in front by two stalwart bearers, who are well attired and two behind. In front are three attendants holding knotted staves and an elephant is leading the procession while behind the palanquin is following a fully caparisoned elephant bearing figures which have become indistinct with the lapse of time. Along the palanquin are two *chauri*-bearers, holding fly-whisks, for the benefit of the sage from Śringeri.

This painting, though not as interesting and colourful as the preceding three depicts a positive stage in the art of painting in Vijayanagara in the 14th century. This is perhaps the earliest in these four paintings of this period.

Vijayanagara Paintings in the 15th Century

That painting in Vijayanagara in the 15th century must have flourished cannot be doubted. This can be proved from external evidence of a foreign visitor like Abdur Razzak, the Persian ambassador to the court of Deva Rāya II (1419-44?), who in 1443 observed some types of Vijayanagara paintings which he personally witnessed during his stay in the capital. In the course of the *Mahānavami* festival, "On that beautiful plain (not specified) were raised enchanting pavilions from two to five stages high, on which from top to bottom were painted all kinds of figures on that imagination can conceive of, men, wild animals, birds, and all kinds of beasts, down to flies and gnats. All these were painted with exceeding delicacy and taste."[45] These paintings must have been, as the ambassador suggests, either on cloth or on canvas and he also saw similar frescoes in the same city. He relates how, on either side of the Dancing Girls' street, there were similar paintings: "On the two sides of the avenue formed by the chambers are represented figures of lions, panthers, tigers and other animals."[46] In this case the frescoes must have been on canvas or cloth or silk and not on any walls which he does not specify.

But frescoes on walls he clearly mentions somewhere near Mangalore, South Kanara District, Karnāṭaka State, in a temple which was full of paintings but unfor-

tunately he does not note its name. In it, he observes "so great a number of pictures and figures had been drawn by the pencil and the pen, that it would be impossible, in the space of a month to sketch it all upon damask or taffeta. From the bottom of the building to the top there is not a hand's breadth to be found uncovered with paintings after the manner of the Franks and the people of Khaṭa (China)."[47] From this reference it would be unreasonable to infer that Vijayanagara painters in this period drew their inspiration from either the Portuguese or the Chinese, with whom they might have had commercial contact. In fact their contacts with the Portuguese commenced only during the reign of the great king Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, though they first arrived close to Calicut on 20th May, 1498, according to Barros or on August 26th of the same year according to an account of Vasco Da Gama's voyages.[48] In either case they must have arrived in India after Deva Rāya II and the influence of their paintings cannot be inferred. The same might be said in regard to Chinese influence too but there is no positive proof of any such artistic contact. Abdur Razzak saw that "all the other buildings, great and small, are covered with paintings and sculptures of extreme delicacy."[49] It is possible that Abdur Razzak saw some Jaina paintings on his way to the capital. As he does not furnish any details regarding the precise locality where he found them, it is not possible to identify the places where he must have found them. But it is interesting to note that the paintings were not confined to the dilineation of only human figres or forms but also the representation of animals some of which he specifies with gusto. Moreover, it is worth observing that those Vijayanagara painters made the best of space available for their paintings. From what he has suggested, especially in the Dancing Girl's Street, in all probability the paintings must have been on either cloth or canvas and not necessarily on walls of the chambers which he mentions, but does not clarify.

Paintings in the 16th Century—Murals

Vijayanagara painting in the 16th century may be said to have reached its zenith for it was the most prosperous period in its history and it witnessed the reign of one of the most glorious rulers of Indian history, the great Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya (1509-30). The murals or frescoes personally seen by the ambassador Abdur Razzak in the 15th century, had become in the 16th century an artistic tradition. The Portuguese traveller, Paes, in the court of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya during his visit (1520-22) was as much impressed by the paintings which he saw, like his predecessor the Persian ambassador Abdur Razzak. Describing by what he calls the "Ivory Room" in Vijayanagara itself, he discloses how the Vijayanagara artist painted the social life of his day. Paes records how "On this same side is designed in painting all the ways of life of the men who have been here down to the Portuguese from which the king's wives can understand the manner in which one lives in his own country, even to the blind and the beggars."[50] This statement is clearly a reference to murals which Paes without any doubt specifies in no uncertain terms. But it is doubtful if

such paintings were executed for the benefit of the royal women because they were not in purdāh like the Muslim ladies and hence it was unnecessary for them to know the manner in which their own people lived. Moreover, the foreigners like the Portuguese were also sculptured on their temple walls and hence the paintings of such people would have been redundant to the king's women who, apart from seeing them in real life in the city itself, must have also witnessed their existence in the sculptures of their shrines which they visited so often. The paintings of the foreigners could have been only a diversion to these artists who were accustomed to depict only their deities, animals and their contemporaries, kings, queens and the common people. The painting of foreigners therefore must have been to them an unusual manner of depicting strange people and their peculiar manners and customs, like their costume, features and anything which struck them as singular.

This Ivory Chamber was not the only room which attracted the attention of Paes from an artistic point of view, for he saw another room which was about to be painted. "They had begun" he relates "to paint this chamber and they told us that it had to be finer than the others and that it was to be all plated with gold, as well as the ground below as all the rest."[51] But Paes does not disclose why that chamber had to be painted better than the previous one unless one hazards that it must have been for the benefit of the royalty. What deserves to be noted is that this room, which was to be painted, had to be, in addition, plated all over with gold, including the floor. If the room was to be painted with frescoes why it was to be gilded all over is difficult to understand, unless its ceiling and flooring only were to be plated all over with gold plate, for if the walls too be treated likewise, then the painting of the walls would have been futile. Whatever the object might have been, any guess without adequate evidence would be hazardous. But this gilting usage seems to have been common in this period at least in Vijayanagara itself. This can be observed from another comment of Paes, the eye-witness, in respect of the Dancing Saloon, about which more will be said later on when dealing with dancing. In connection with the gilted plates, they too seem to have been painted to give a semblance of natural phenomena. In this Dancing Chamber of the royal ladies, continues Paes, "Between the images and the pillars runs a design of foliage like plates all gilt (a maneyra de lamines) with the reverses of the leaves in red and blue, the images that are on the pillars are stags and other animals, they are painted in colours with the pink on their faces."[52] Paes saw another chamber at the end of this Dancing Saloon which seems to have been a sort of feminine gymnasium and that too was painted. He continues: "At the end of this house on the left hand is a painted recess where the women cling on with their hands in order better to stretch and loosen their bodies and legs."[53]

Gilding and Painting

The Vijayanagara system of covering walls, niches and images with gilded plates

has already been noticed but it must be noted that such plates were not of the same metal and also painted. It is Paes who is our sole source of information for he reveals to us the nature of the metals and how the gilted sheets were used. Opposite the principal gate he tells us stood four columns: two gilded and the other two of copper "from which, owing to their great age as it seems to me, the gold has worn off; and the other two are also of copper, for all are of copper. All the outer side of the gate of the temple up to the roof is covered with copper and gilded, and on each side of the roof on the top are certain great animals that look like tigers, all gilt."[54] This reveals that the plates were originally of copper and were gilded with gold, which in course of time wore off, revealing the copper metal. Even in the case of wood-work, "on the House of Victory," dealing with the royal throne, Paes relates how "in the spaces between the cloths (*soajes*) it had plates of gold with many rubies and seed-pearls and pearls underneath."[55] This gilding was not confined to walls and pillars: for during the annual review Paes found that the bridles of the royal horses and bows were "all gilded and gold-plated."[56] Again this type of decoration was found in the decoration of the cavalry too, and Paes adds: "The cavalry were mounted on horses fully caparisoned and on their foreheads plates, some of silver, with fringes of twisted silk of all colours and reins of the same. Some of the men with gilded plates had them set with many large precious stones. Some of these horses had on their foreheads heads of serpents, and of other large animals of various kinds, made in such a strange manner that they were a sight to see for the perfection of their make." The tunics of the horsemen had in some cases, "plates gilded both inside and out," and some were made of silver. They had neck-gorgets (*cofos*) "all gilded, others made of silk "with plates of gold and silver, others of steel as bright as a mirror."[57] Paes also saw how in front of the king, in a procession was carried a "cage . . . gilded and very large," it seemed to him to have been made of copper or silver."[58] That "cage" was in all likelihood a palanquin carrying the image of some deity and it must have been huge for it was carried by sixteen men, eight on each side, taking turns and in it was carried an idol.[59] He also saw two chambers "one above the other, with two little steps" covered with copper gilded, and from there to the top is all lined with gold (I do not say "gilded" but "lined") inside and outside it is dome-shaped."[60] This statement would again confirm the inference that even the floors, including the steps, were gilded. Similarly the thrones of the emperors were also gilded. Referring to a particular chamber in which the thrones of the rulers were kept, Paes observes: "In this house are two thrones covered with gold and a cot of silver with its curtains."[61] Cross-bars of cots were also covered with gold.[62]

Wall Painting

Walls of chambers, as noted earlier, were also painted. The emperor's office was not left out in this process of adornment. "Thence" continues Paes, "after the King had finished his worship, he goes to a building made in the shape of a porch

without walls, which has many pillars hung with cloths right up to the top, and with the walls handsomely painted."[63] The ceilings too were painted as noticed by Paes. Dealing with them he remarks "All this is also gilded, and has some red colour on the undersides of the leaves which stand out from the sculpture."[64] In the Kalyāṇa *Maṇḍapa* near the Viṭṭhalasvāmi temple till some years ago vestiges of such paint were visible and during the 16th century, it must have been fully painted as is borne out by Paes for the colours were visible on the sculptures of the pillars and also of the ceiling. One cannot forget some lovely designs in red though similar patches of green were also discernible.

This style of painting the interiors and exteriors must have been adopted by the Vijayanagara painters from their Hoysaḷa counter-parts. Red paint was visible in some of the figures of the Hoysaḷeśvara temple at Haḷebīḍ. Such a usage was no doubt known to the ancient Buddhists as can be seen from some of their ceilings and from them the Hindu temple painters must have borrowed it. This tradition, once it was adopted by the Vijayanagara painters, continued throughout their empire. The ceiling of the Lepākṣi temple in 1538 was painted with numerous large frescoes from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, and some of the figures disclose a commendable mastery of drawing and painting. But Longhurst, however, thought that "taken as a whole the work is distinctly poor and uninteresting," evidently from a Western angle. During the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, according to the *Kṛṣṇārjuna Saṁvādam*, Sāḷuva Timma, his minister, adorned the temple of the god Rāghaveśvara at Koṇḍavīḍu, then a fortress city, with frescoes and presented to that deity the village of Maidavoḷu.[65] The walls and ceilings of the Beṭṭadapura shrine of Mallikārjuna show even today distinct traces of painting[66] which with time has evidently worn out. The Vaḍamallīśvara temple had in days past the whole of its ceiling painted and its remnants were still noticeable till 1914-15.[67]

Murals were recently (30th July, 1978) discovered on the upper structure of the entrance towers (*gopurams*) of a Śaiva temple at Tirupudaimarithu near Tiruṇveli in Tamil Nāḍu. They are of the Vijayanagara period and probably of the 16th century. They were in a good state of preservation. One of them, 1.5 metres in height, depicts an Arab ship laden with horses being brought to the shore of the Tamil Nāḍu. This fresco also reveals valuable details about the forms of the Arab ships and the costumes of the Arab sailors and Hindu soldiers of that day. Some of the murals on the side walls and ceilings of the temple tower (*gopuram*) depict episodes in the life of the saint Māṇikavashagar as well as from legends connected with the temple.[68]

Image Painting

Apart from painting frescoes on the walls of temple, halls and chambers, and their ceilings, the Vijayanagara painters used to paint images of various people, especially of the emperors and their feudatories. Paes noticed that the images of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya and of his father were so painted that they appeared as though

they were alive. He relates how "At the entrance of this door (opposite to the king's residence) outside are two images painted like life and drawn in their manner, which are these; the one on the right hand is of the father of this king (Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya's father was Narasa Nāyaka) and the one on the left is of this king (Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya). The father was dark and a gentleman of fine form, stouter than the son is; they stand with all their apparel and such raiment as they wear or used to wear when alive."[69] Such a practice must have prevailed among the Hoysaḷas as can be seen from the paint clinging to images in the Hoysaḷeśvara temple at Haḷebīḍ[70] and such a usage, as pointed out earlier, was current in Buddhist times. It survived to the 17th century as will be shown presently.

Painting in the 17th Century

Painting continued to be patronised in the 17th century by the emperors and their feudatories. The *Raghunātha Abhyudayam* relates that Raghunātha Nāyaka (cf. ante) built at Thanjāvūr a fine palace and he also built another called Śrī Rāma Saṅdham containing a life-like painting of Śrī Rāma's coronation. In another palace named Vijaya Bhavana Rāja there were portraits or rather paintings of Raghunātha's victory over Soḷaga, of his raising the king of Nepāla (Jaffna) to the throne, which he had lost, by defeating his enemies. Besides these, there were frescoes of his triumphs over the Pāṇḍyas and the Tuṇḍra kings (the Madurai and Ginji Nāyakas) and of elevating Rāma Deva Rāya to the empire.[71]

In Madurai too painting flourished, but unfortunately only faint vestiges of it remain as for instance on the walls of the pillared colonnade of the Lily Tank.[72] There is, however, a fine painting executed probably between 1689-1706, on the ceiling of the temple at Madurai of queen Maṅgammāḷ and her husband Chokka-nātha Nāyaka standing between a host of deities. It is a fine fresco, typical of the period. She was a tolerant, shrewd, and liberal ruler. During the last two or three years of her life, according to tradition, owing to her scandalous relations with her minister Achchaiya, a nonentity in Madurai politics, she became extremely un-popular. This estrangement was enhanced when she showed unwillingness to hand over the government to her grandson on his attaining majority and consequently she was captured, imprisoned, and starved to death. This painting gives little clue either to support or refute this tradition.[73]

In the little principality of Keḷadi (Ikkeri) painting survived although it cannot be claimed to have flourished. In 1623 the traveller Pietro Della Valle found that its inhabitants had adorned the outer porches of a building, not only with lights but also with certain contrivances with papers or rather scrolls on which were painted men on horse-back, elephants, different types of people and other figures.[74]

In the capitals of the empire, painting must have been patronised but little is known either about the artists or of their work. Occasionally inscriptions refer to painters who also followed other professions. For instance in 1552 there was a painter (*citrika*) and a stone mason called Gaurayya.[75] Such artists were employed

in the royal court of Veṅkaṭa II as has been borne out by Du Jarric, according to whom there were several Indian painters at Caṅdragiri in the court of Veṅkaṭa II,[76] but unfortunately little is known about their work. Still it has been observed that "These artists could not have approached the standard of the European paintings presented to the king (Veṅkaṭa II) by the Jesuits."[77] Without being aware of any of the work of those Indian painters, to condemn their achievements is absurd for Indian painting is never to be judged by foreign standards and comparisons, as in this case, are certainly odious.

Much has been made of the paintings shown by the Catholic priests de Sa and Ricio, of Dom Sebastian and his predecessors and of another Jesuit brother Alexander who in 1599 was appointed in the royal court at Caṅdragiri as a painter, and he remained there till 1602. A new painter Barthlomeo Fontebona or Fonteboune was introduced to the emperor Veṅkaṭa II in 1607 by Fr Countinho and he painted the portrait of the emperor and, after painting several paintings of Jesus, Mary and others, the Jesuits removed him from the court in 1611 when the missions at Caṅdragiri and Vellore were abolished.[78] Veṅkaṭa II once, being charmed by a painting of the Holy Mary by Fontebona, had it hung in a prominent place in the Assembly Room opposite the royal throne and his learned Brāhmaṇas inquired why it was given that honour. It is said that Veṅkaṭa replied "This carpet on which I am sitting and you also, came from their country. If we nevertheless are sitting on it, why cannot that painting be there?"[79] As such statements are from one Jesuit to another, without corroboration they cannot be accepted as historically true. It is, incidentally, surprising why that poor emperor was not converted by the wily Jesuit fathers whose main mission was to convert all Hindus to their Catholic faith so that they may be assured of a permanent place in heaven!

The Theatre—Pre Vijayanagara

The theatre (Skt-*Prekṣam*—Pāli-*Pèkkham*) existed in India from ancient times. The *Mānasāra*, for example, when dealing with the *Madhyaraṅgavidhāna*, describes an elaborate structure intended for enacting plays.[80] Talented women actually participated in such dramas since the commencement of the third century or even earlier.[81] During the Coḷas the theatre came into vogue and the stage was, as the inscriptions reveal, within the temple itself. An epigraph of Parakesarivarman records that the assembly of Tiraimur, composed of merchants, the trustees and others of the temple assembled in the theatrical hall of the temple and made up an account of the gifts of gold made for maintaining lamps in that temple.[82] Another inscription of the same monarch reveals the name of the theatrical hall was *nāḍaga-sālai*[83] (*nāṭakaśāla*) and it was also known as the *nāṭakasālai*,[84] a variant of the former term. Not only was business transacted here but actual dancing was also performed.[85] It is possible that this dance called *Āriyakkuṭṭu* performed by Kirtimarai Kaṇḍan, in which dancing and singing were assigned a prominent place, was a regular dramatic performance patronised by the monarch himself. One of the in-

scriptions of Rājarāja I, who died in 1012, from Tiruvaḍaturai records a gift of land to Kumār Sikuṅḍan, a professional actor (*sakkaiyar*), by the assembly of Saṭṭanūr for staging the seven acts (*aṅkas*) of the *Āryakkuṭṭu* or themes from the Sanskrit *Purāṇās*, on the festival day in the month of *Purattasi*. In this case provision was also made for the supply, in connection with the staging of this *kuṭṭu*, of rice, flour, betel leaves, arecanuts and ghee for mixing collyrium and turmeric.[86] A later inscription of Rājakesarivarman Kulottuṅga Coḷadeva states that a theatre was meant for different types of amusements. This ruler made provision for the maintenance of a theatre called *Nānā-vidhā-nāṭāka-sālāi*, implying as its name suggests that its object was for the enactment of different types of plays or amusements.[87] Rājarāja's son Rājeṅdra Coḷa made endowments for enacting a drama called *Rājeśvara Nāṭaka* by an expert in the *saṅdikkuṭṭu* named Tiruvaḷan Tirumuḍu Kunran.[88] Similarly Rājādhirāja I made a donation in favour of an actor and his dramatic troupe for their services in the temple of Mahāliṅgeśvara.[89]

The theatre was popular in Pāṇḍyan times too. Dancing girls took part in the dramas staged and were duly rewarded. The temple authorities of the Śivaḷḷisuvaramuḍaiya at Paṭṭamaḍai granted one *mā* of land and certain privileges in the temple to the temple-dancing girl Vīraśekharanaṅgai for enacting a drama on certain festival days.[90] It is possible that, as in Coḷa days, this type of drama was a monologue. It is worth noting that a similar case occurred in Vijayanagara times as well. The patronage of the drama continued. In 1001 some learned Brāhmaṇas are claimed to be the suns to the spreading lotuses of jurisprudence the *Purāṇās*, poetry and the drama.[91]

During the Gaṅgā regime, drama must have been popular. One of the Gaṅgā kings, Śivamāra, is praised as being skilled in everything connected with the drama and all its branches.[92]

In 1129 Banavase, the Kadamba capital, was compared to a theatre for the performance of excellent poets.[93]

In 1159 the Kaḷacūrya king Bijjaṇa was claimed to have been proficient in the drama.[94]

The Theatre and Drama in Vijayanagara

The theatre and drama, when the Vijayanagara period commenced in 1346, had become established institutions and their continuation from the 14th century was natural and caused no surprise. Some of the Vijayanagara princes and rulers themselves were play-wrights and took keen interest in theatrical performances. Prince Virūpākṣa, the son of Harihara II (1379-98), was a dramatist and wrote the play *Nārāyaṇavilāsamu*.[95] During the reign of the emperor Mallikārjuna (1152-65), his court became an active centre of great dramatic and theatrical activity. The *Gaṅgadāsa Pratipālavilāsam* tells us how that play came to be enacted in those days. A famous poet and playwright of his court, Gaṅgādhara, narrates how, after a conquest, Mallikārjuna inquired about him. The dramatist arose, evidently in court,

and gave an account of his triumphant tour during which he had received many presents and had defeated many scholars. When he had been to the court of prince Gaṅgādāsa, the ruler of Pavacala, at his request, Gaṅgādhara composed in Sanskrit a drama celebrating all his achievements and they were looking forward how to stage it. Mallikārjuna heard all this with pleasure and at this, one of the actors of Mallikārjuna's court stood up and said "In order to eclipse the fame of that dramatist, I told him that I would stage this drama." Apparently this play was enacted for in the court of Gaṅgādāsa that play had won much applause from all the spectators who began to observe that such a drama could not be staged statisfactorily in order to fully express all the sentiments in it.[96] This incident reveals how dramas came to be written and how experienced actors participated in staging them in theatres intended for staging such plays.

Later on too the drama flourished. During the reign of the great empreor Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya (1509-30) plays were enacted during festivals. This was not a novel custom for it was the practice current from early times. The dramas *Uttararāmacarita* and *Mālatīmādhava* were staged to celebrate the festival of Kālapriyanātha (Śiva).[97] Similarly to grace the Spring Festival (*Vasantotsava*) before the assembled people was enacted the drama *Jāmbāvatī Kalyāṇam* written by great emperor Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya himself.[98] Dramas were sometimes inspired by dreams, as seems to have been the case with the *Raghunātha Abhyudayam*. Its author Vijaya Rāghava Nāyaka of Tanjore, relates that one night, his favourite deity god Manmar (Gopāla) of Mannāraguḍi, appeared before him and exhorted him to write that play. In it that palywright celebrates the achievements of his famous father Raghunātha Nāyaka.[99]

During the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, the most glorious period in Vijayanagara if not in all South Indian or even Indian history, dancing girls participated in the performances of dramas. A play called *Tayikuṇḍa Nāṭaka* was actually staged and with its enactment were connected one *Naṭuva* (actor) (Skt *Naṭa*-dancer) Nāgayya and his daughter who was a *pātri*—a temple dancing girl and for their efficiency apparently in acting, they were rewarded with gifts of land.[100] This is a clear example of mixed acting and dancing too was current as will be shown later.

The enactment of such plays of course implies the existence of organised theatres but about them unfortunately little is recorded, and even in later inscriptions or literature mention is only made of the construction of theatres. For instance we are told that in the *Acyutaraṅgakūṭam* palace of Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore, was built a theatre adorned with several gems.[101] Such theatres were also built in other provincial capitals like Ikkeri (Keḷadi). The local chief Saṅkaṇṇa Nāyaka built there a magnificent theatre, whose requirements are specified in the notable encyclopaedia the *Śivatatvaratnākara*. It records that a theatre should have a garden in front, it should be well ventilated, and lit up with jewelled lamps (lamps made of gems). It should be beautified with the tusks of intoxicated elephants and should be also made attractive with the installation of a golden pillar, and a sandal-wood

pillar for providing fragrance. It should be ornamented with corals, have glasses on the walls and beautiful pictures (viz. paintings).[102] Although this was an ideal representation of an imaginary theatre, still in view of epigraphic evidence, as actual theatres certainly existed in Vijayanagara times, many of the essential features represented in the *Śivatatvaratnākara* can well be taken to have existed in the Vijayanagara theatre too.

Drama and Music—Precedents

In India the drama has usually been an opera in which music played an important role and it is so even today in most of the Marāṭhi dramas in Mahārāṣṭra, as well as in other parts of our country. From ancient times monarchs considered it an accomplishment to master this art. Probably Mahendravarman I, the Pallava ruler, was keenly interested in music as he had as one of his titles *Saṅkīrṇajāti*,[103] the name of a variety of musical tunes. It is likely that Mahendravarman invented this musical mode of keeping time and hence was honoured by this title *(biruda)*. Another Pallava monarch, Nandivarman, is compared to the king of Vatsa in regard to the art of music.[104] The daughter of the Coḷa Gaṅga ruler Anaṅga Bhīma, (1078-1142) named Candrikā was "learned in song, a seat of sport in skilful practice of the arts of musical measure, beating of time and the dance (*gītajñā-laya-narttana-kalā-kauśalya-līlālaya vāllyād.*"[105] It will be noticed presently whether any of the queens of the Vijayanagara emperors was interested in music. Rājarāja III (1216-46)[106] is recorded to have attended a musical party in the Rājaran *Maṇḍapa* at Tiruvarriyur where he was pleased to hear, during a festival, a tune called the *agamārgam* by one of the dancing girls of that shrine.[107] The Cāḷukyan general Ravideva, the *Daṇḍanāyaka* of Vīra Someśvara[108] (1245) was an expert musician.[109] The Kadamba king Viṣṇuvarman, according to an inscription, was well-versed in the art of music.[110] A Rāṣṭrakūṭa general was celebrated for having obtained "the great musical instruments of the exalted office of General" from Gojjigadeva.[111] This statement discloses that certain offices like that of a general carried with them certain insignia of distinction like the musical instruments in this case. In all probability the allusion in this case is to the *pañca-mahā-śabda*,[112] which was very popular in different places and with various dynasties. The manner in which the general Ravi, mentioned above, was commemorated in the Yewūr record which states thus about it: 'The unique manner in which the General Ravi combines sweetness and smoothness in a singular manner so that it is said "Is this not a downpour of fresh honey or a river of nectar, that is falling on us?" and does it not cause delight to the ear of the whole world?'[113] As no specific details of the manner in which Ravi, the general, either sang or caused to sing, this epigraph apparently alludes to the sweetness and melody of the music associated with him. In 1112 the Cāḷukyan monarch Vikramābharaṇa was styled a garland of the concert of naturally sweet music,[114] obviously alluding to the intrinsic melody of his music. The Kaḷacūrya sovereign, Rāyamurāri Sovi Deva in 1168 was compared in drama and the science

of music to the immortal Bharatamuni,[115] the father of dancing and music. In the twelfth century the Hoysaḷa monarch Vīra Ballāḷa was hailed as a promoter of music and dancing,[116] and he must have certainly patronised both those arts.

Music in Vijayanagara

Following in the foot-steps of many of their illustrious predecessors in South India, the emperors of Vijayanagara continued to foster the spirit of the fine arts. There is adequate evidence to prove that they certainly took definite interest in music. One of the brothers of Harihara I, Kampaṇṇa, is praised in 1356 as a unique treasure of music.[117] The Akkalapuṇḍi grant of Kunaya Nāyaka, a feudatory of the Vijayanagara emperors, in *śaka* 1290 was interested in music though from an erotic angle. He is claimed to have been always delighted in sporting with women, proficient in playing on the *vīṇā*, illustrious for their attractive and charming dances, and "who followed the rules of conduct regulating the noble songsters of culture."[118] From this inscription it may be noted how in this period the dancers of Vijayanagara could not only sing but also play on the *vīṇā* efficiently, in conformity, with classical rules.

In the 16th century, which saw the zenith of Vijayanagara art, music continued to attract the rulers. The great Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya and the notable Rāma Rāya, were musicians. Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya is specially praised in the Kṛṣṇāpura inscription as being unrivalled in music.[119] If the emperors were so much interested in music, their queens did not lag behind their husbands in this respect. The Portuguese traveller Nuniz (1535-37) notes how the wives of the emperor Acyuta Rāya were accomplished musicians since he observes "Even the wives of the King (Acyuta) were well-versed in music."[120] Nuniz adds that Acyuta Rāya had in his court women musicians who were experienced in vocal and instrumental music.[121] During Rāma Rāya, the Vidyādharī women, are depicted in 1541 as singing the praise of that Regent who defeated and slew Sāḷuva Timma, to the accompaniment of their lutes which they made resonant by striking with their nails.[122] During the reign of Veṅkaṭa II too in his royal body-guard there were musicians. Du Jarric observed how, after the standard-bearer went musians riding several camels playing on the flute and the "*vīṇā*-band"[123] implying those who played on the *vīṇā*.

The feudatories of these monarchs took great interest in music. Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore wrote an excellent treatise on music entitled *Saṅgīta Sudhā*. In it one of his courtiers is made to narrate the achievements of the author and of his predecessors. After alluding to his victories and his literary productions, the account relates that Raghunātha was a great authority on music. He had invented new tunes like *Jayantasena* and new *tālas* (beats) like *Ramānanda*. He taught the art of playing on the *vīṇā* to many musicians. He also invented a new *melā*, after his own name, in which any new tune could be played.[124] He was also a good listener of music according to the *Raghunātha Abhyudayam*. He was also good composer and some of the tunes sung before him by his musicians were his own compositions.

He was indeed a master of music. The chief *rāgas* (tunes) they sang before him were *jayamaṅgalā*, *siṁhalīlā*, *jayanissāru* (?) and *kachcharitra* (?). Some of the *tālas* to which they played were *ratilīlā*, *turaṅgalīlā*, *raṅgābharaṇa*, *anaṅgaparikramaṇa*, *abhinaṅdana*, *naṅdanaṅdana* and *abhimāla*.[125] Besides these there were other tunes mentioned in the great work the *Śivatatvaratnākara*, namely: *śrīrāga*, *madhyama*, *naṭa*, *karnāṭaka*, *golaka* and *chāyānaṭa* which were to be sung with folded hands.[126] In 1636 the Keḷadi chief Vīrabhadra Nāyaka granted to the musician Sūraṇṇa of Kollūru some specified land for building a temple.[126] Some of these tunes can be traced in Hindustāni music especially *chāyānaṭ*, *madhyama* and *naṭa*.[127]

The feudatories, like their masters, had musicians with their retinues. "Rāja Waḍeyar" says Wilks, "in passing to the court at Seringapatam (Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa), accompanied by his usual retinue and rude music, met the Waḍeyar of Kambaḷa going to court, attended also by music. Rāja Waḍeyar, on ascertaining whose retinue it was, ordered his own music to cease. On his arrival at court (Śrīraṅga-paṭṭaṇam) the Viceroy asked him why he had not come into the presence with his usual state. "Music is no distinction" said he, "if my inferiors are also allowed it." The chief of Kambaḷa took fire at this insinuation. "Let us meet" said Rāja Waḍeyar "and determine the superioity and with it the right to the music."[128] This incident throws some light on the importance of music in royal and feudal retinues during this period. To an ignorant foreigner like Wilks, Karnāṭaka music was "rude" while Western music could well deserve that if not a worse epithet from an Indian angle.

This episode is reminiscent of a similar incident which occurred in Shah Jahan's court at Delhi, as recorded by the traveller, Manucci. The upstart Dulera, a musician, proceeding on the same road met the party of the general Mahabat Khan coming from the opposite direction. On finding that Dulera took no steps to lower his standard or order his musicians to stop playing music out of deference to the general and his party, the latter proceeded to the court without the customary music or the flying of his standards. When the emperor Shah Jahan inquired why the general had not arrived in accordance with his dignity and custom, he replied that standards were no distinction if a musician like Dulera was permitted to flaunt them in his face.[129] A similar occurrence is recorded by the chronicler Khafi Khan regarding Zulfikar Khan and the Mughal emperor Jahandar Shah.[130]

Music and the Common People: Antecedents

The common people too were interested in music, which has been a lively feature of Indian social life from antiquity. An inscription of Vijaya Naṅdi-vikramavarman records that he granted 400 *kadi* of paddy for singers and other people.[131] Music was essential in temples and an epigraph of Rājarāja I (985-1014)[132] records how payment was made for superintending the women musicians of the shrine (*gandharvī*) and to eleven men engaged in drumning together with their master.[133] Another inscription of this ruler mentions gold trumpets which had one (*kaṅgil* ?), two pipes, (*kuraḷ*) and five rings.[134] In 1096 the *Daṇḍanāyaka*

Sarva Devarasa was entitled to the five great drums.[135] Drums were current in Pāṇḍyan times also: Suṅdara Pāṇḍya appointed three men as drummers at Vaḍapparu.[136] In 1095 the court of the Kadamba ruler Pratāpa Dayasiṁha *Mahārāja* resounded with the mingled sounds of songs, drums, dances, flutes and guitars (*maṅgala-gīta-vādyānaka-turrya-śaṅkha-kahaḷāravādim*).[137] In 1158 on *Caitra Mahā-pūja* a car procession was accompanied with mirrors, kettle-drums, festival-trumpets, conches, songs, and dances.[138] In 1193 drums were bound to the waists of the musicians.[139] It will be seen how this practice was adopted in Vijayanagara times. About 1200 one Puḷiyāḷvār granted two "horns" to the deity Sayambhunāyanār. In 1306 large and little kettle-drums are mentioned among the gifts of honour.[140]

Musical Instruments in Vijayanagara Art

Sources of Vijayanagara history refer to many of the musical instruments current among its citizens. In 1386 when Kampaṇa (Kampaṇa or Kaṁpa) Oḍeyar was ruling, the manager of his palace, Dugganna granted land to provide, among other things, for dancing, vocal, and instrumental music.[141] Some inscriptions reveal the types of musical instruments. About 1400 three kinds of drums were used: namely, *bheri*, *duṅdhubi* and *mahāmuraja*.[142] In Vijayanagara sculpture and paintings some idea can be obtained of the musical instruments employed by those people. Among one comes across the *taṁbūr*, the horn, the drum, the *kolāṭa*-sticks and the gong, the *tipri* of Gujarat and Mahārāshṭra. The *taṁbūr* is not often seen although it appears here and there. In a sculpture, the third woman from the right holds an instrument which is obviously a *taṁbūr*. Its head is resting on the woman's right shoulder while she is holding it with her right hand and she is waving her left hand in appreciation of the dance in progress, one of the walls of the Hazāra Rāma temple at Vijayanagara there is an excellent carving of a musical party and the leading musician in the group, who is sitting, has a large *taṁbūr* in front of him.

Another musical instrument prevalent in Vijayanagara was the horn. It was one of the instruments employed in producing the Five Great Sounds (*Pañcamahāśabda*).

In Vijayanagara sculpture two kinds of horns can be noticed. In one case a dwarf blows a long horn, which is slightly bent, thin at the mouth-piece but bulging out towards the end. Evidently it was a large instrument capable of producing great noise. Much smaller and slightly different was that horn blown by the women, especially the dancing girls. It was thinner, shorter and probably capable of sweeter music. It seems to have been blown into the air, raised up with both hands by the women. It was evidently popular as it is seen in many a dancing group. Paes, an eye-witness, gives us one of its uses, saying "As soon as they cut off the head of the sheep or the goat, this *yogi* (a Brāhmana priest) blows a horn a sign that the idol receives that sacrifice."[143]

The drum was another of the musical implements. It was very important in conducting a dance and there are few panels in Vijayanagara and elsewhere pertain-

ing to this school depicting a dance without a drummer and and his drum. In these sculptures, three types of drums can be noticed: two of them are seen used by women or the dancing girls. It is possible that such drums were as the inscriptions tell us, tied to their waists, as was the case with the men. In one of the sculptures a woman is seen beating a drum, in front of her, with her left hand, while in appreciation she has raised her right hand. Had the drum not been tied to her waist, she could not have indulged in such a gesture. The drum she is holding is broad in the centre while it is tapering towards the sides. Another kind of drum employed by women was smaller, somewhat compressed in the centre while it was bulging out at the sides. These drums were beaten with the palms and consequently must have been delicately wrought. The smaller type of drum was held in the left hand and beaten with the right, but not the other drum which was beaten with both hands. In some cases it was slung on the shoulder, generally on the left. But there was a much larger drum which is well seen in a carving. It was strongly constructed and, as an image reveals, it was not beaten with the hand but struck only on one side with a large stick. Probably it was one of the kettle-drums employed by kings during battles. Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya, when proceeding against the citadel of Śivasamudram, is stated to have directed a war-drum to be sounded.[144] Such a type of drum was probably also used in temples too for the monolithic statue in the Acyuta Rāya's temple, has in its hand an extremely large drum, sounded with a stick. A round type of drum can also be noticed, but it was held in the front and beaten with both hands by the drummer. According to an inscription such drummers were paid sometimes in cash but often by grants of land.[145]

Other types of musical instruments are also mentioned in inscriptions and accounts of contemporary travellers, who were present in the capital from time to time. In 1450, during the reign of Deva Rāya II of Vijayanagara, cymbals, conches, *cakra* (a wheel-like musical implement) and other musical instruments were in use.[146] In the same regime, the Persian ambassador, Abdur Razzak, who visited the court of Deva Rāya II in 1443, speaks of trumpets too and the occasions on which it was utilised. He noted how "when the *Danaik* (*Daṇḍanāyaka*) leaves the chamber (where he was holding his court) several coloured umbrellas are borne before him and trumpets sounded and on both sides of his way panegyrists (*bhāṭas*) pronounce benedictions on him."[147]

The Role of Music in Vijayanagara Cultural Life

Music played an important role in the cultural life of Vijayanagara. Its presence was pronounced during festivals, amusements, even during the performance of the dreaded *sati*, in the course of battle, and the actual performance of musicians in action.

During the *Mahānavami* festival music was much in evidence. The ambassador Abdur Razzak in 1443 observed how all the musicians, "orators" and jugglers

received from the king Deva Rāya II, presents of gold and "suits of apparel."[148] Razzak further mentions that the brother of Deva Rāya II had taken care to collect "together all the drums, cymbals, trumpets and horns in the city, which playing all at the same time were beaten and blown together with great force and dissonance."[149] During this *Mahānavami* festival, musical entertainment formed one of the most important features in the programme of festivities. Between the nine-storeyed pillared edifice and the pavilions, he continues, "there was an open space beautifully laid in which singers and story-tellers exercised their respective arts."[150] These singers were lovely maidens, whose beauty seems to have turned poor Razzak's head.

Music was employed even during the performance of animal feats like the open entertainment provided by elephants, anticipating our modern circus feats of today. To the music of ministrels, elephants were trained to perform open-air feats. An elaborate structure of planks was raised and "mounted thus on the top of the third beam, the elephant beats time with his trunk to every song or tune that the ministrel performed, raising his trunk and lowering it gently in accord with music.[151] In the same reign, another traveller, Nicolo dei Conti, (1420-21) records how music was associated with social functions. He says "Their weddings are celebrated with singing, feasting and the sound of trumpets and flutes for, with the exception of organs, all other instruments in use among them for singing and playing are similar to our own."[152]

In 1470 under Virūpākṣa an inscription refers to singers and players on the tambourine, probably a *vīṇā*.[153] Such instruments must have been used during festivities and weddings and similar social functions. Music was indulged in to amuse the emperor by the palace women, probably of the *antaḥ-puraḥ* (harem or zenāna).[154] In 1514 Barbosa (1504-14) discloses that the women of the palace bathed "in pools of water," sang and played "on their instruments" and in "a thousand ways" amused the king.[155]

Even during the performance of *sati* music was not forgotten. Barbosa again tells us that a widow, about to perform *sati*, spent a few days before she perished, gave away, all what she had possessed, in feasting, singing, dancing, playing on musical instruments and amusements of jugglers.[156] This usage continued to the 16th century and even later as long as *sati* prevailed. Nuniz, also an eye-witness like Paes, furnishes a hear-say account of what he had heard about music during *sati*. He says "It is said" that the woman going to become a *sati*, went on the road, "accompanied by many kinds of music...with much pleasure. A man goes also playing on a small drum and he sings songs to her telling her that she is going to join her husband and she answers also in singing that she will do."[157] Later, 2 years after the great catastrophe of 1565, in 1567, when Caesar Frederick visited Vijayanagara, he witnessed dancing and music during the performance of *sati*.[158]

Music was in evidence even during the execution of the dreadful rite of *sīḍi* when a person, who had undertaken to vow, was raised on a *sīḍi* (literally a ladder)

to which were attached hooks which were stuck in the body of the man or woman concerned. Again Barbosa, an eye-witness, saw how the people "raised the crane (*sīḍi*, to which the body was hooked) with great shouting and sound of instruments, firing guns and making other festal demonstrations."[159] [For further details see my "*Strange Indian Customs*" (1979), pp. 72-78].

Music and the Nobility

Music was as much a feature of the life of the nobility as it was with the royalty and the common people. Barbosa relates how the nobles of the emperor waited on him when he alighted at his palace, "with their trumpets and musical instruments."[160] If a near relation of the king's was accused of any crime and punished, he was "carried with great honour and clang of musical instruments and festivals to his abode."[161] This is rather surprising and the music was not evidently in honour of the offender but because it was associated with the nobility. Trumpets and drums were invariably sounded in the company of nobles and ambassadors. Nuniz relates how the ambassadors of Adil Shah called "Matucotam" had with him all his people with their trumpets and drums as was customary."[162] The nobles whether Muslim or Hindu no doubt followed in the foot-steps of their masters. In front of the emperor Acyuta Rāya's body-guard, according to Nuniz, rode "about twenty-five horsemen with drums and trumpets and other music playing so loudly that nothing could be heard."[163]

Music in the Royal Camp

There was, no doubt, music in the royal camp when a battle was about to commence. During the reign of Acyuta Deva Rāya, the traveller Nuniz saw how such music was made. "Then to see" he describes the camp, "the numbers of drums and trumpets and other musical instruments that they use. When they strike their music as a sign that they are about to give battle, it would seem as if the heavens must fall; and if it happened that a bird came flying along at a time when they made such a terrific noise, it used to come down through terror of not being able to get clear of the camp and so they would catch it in their hands; principally kites of which they caught many."[164] The dawn in the military camp was also heralded with music and this music too was equally frightful. Nuniz again says "Seeing the dawn of Saturday was not breaking, the drums and trumpets and other music in the king's camp began to sound and the men to shout, so that it seemed as if the sky would fall to earth."[165]

In the temples also music was prominent. During the reign of Acyuta Rāya, he commanded that worship of the deities was to be carried on for instance in the shrine of Tiruveṅkaṭanātha to "the accompaniment of dancing, singing and music."[166]

Performing Musicians

Sometimes we come across descriptions of performing musicians as noticed by contemporary writers. In about 1430 the poet Candra describes his impressions produced by a dexterous musician. He tells us how "The soft sound of music of the clever musician filled with sweetness as it were the essence oozing out when nectar is raised out of the sweet ocean, as if it were the essence oozing out when Cupid (Kāma) raised his sugar-cane bow."[167] A century later another poet the *Kavi* Ratnākaravarṇi (1557) describes thus a lady singer: "Her sweet voice coming out from her slender belly through her lips as if the oozing out of the essence of joy which is overfull, captured the hearts (of the people). Her captivating delivery (of song) took birth in her circular navel, grew up in her soft heart, reached youth in her elegant neck, mounted the young lady's throat, got down to her lips and captured the hearts of the people."[168] Again describing a group of young women singers, a poet Bharateśvara tells us how "The clever women artfully brought forth (modulations) and expressed them through their necks as if they were sprinkling the liquid of music on all sides."[169]

Dancing Girls and Dancing

Dancing girls and the art of dancing were inseparable in the cultural life of Vijayanagara. Their patronage had a hoary past. Almost all the South Indian dynasties patronised them, and of these the Coḷas were probably the most prominent. Rājarāja I (985-1014),[170] is recorded to have brought and established at Tanjore (Thanjāvūr) a number of dancing girls from various parts of Tamil Nāḍu (the Coḷa country).[171] Another inscription states that an appointment was made of an additional dancing master in a temple where dancing was to be performed with gestures.[172] Provision was made for dances named *sandikkuṭṭu* and *sakkai-kuṭṭu*. Rājarāja III (1216-79)[173] attended the performances of the *agamāragaṁ* by Urovakkinan Taḷaikkoḷi at Turuvorriyur.[174] There is clear evidence that a dancing master taught dancing during the reign of Kulottuṅga Coḷa III (1179-82—1216),[175] with gestures (*abhinaya*).[176] As an epigraph of Rājendra Coḷa I (1012-44) also refers to such a teacher,[177] it may be inferred that such a usage prevailed in the Coḷa region from the 11th century and was probably of an earlier origin. Nāga women are recorded to have danced on the birth of Rājendra Coḷa I.[178]

Ladies specialised in the art of dancing. During the reign of Vikrama Coḷa (1118-35)[179] land was granted to a feminine dancer for giving nine performances of dancing in a temple.[180] During the times of Kulottuṅga Choḍaya Deva, in Rājanārāyaṇa temple at Bezwada, there were girls (dancing), painters and conch-blowers, working as a unit in that temple's organisation.[181] At times they were granted the privilege of waving *cāmaras* (fly-whisks) before the divine image during the car procession.[182] Some of these dancing girls were married like other women.[183]

They were also paid the shares of paddy as an allowance and transferred from shrine to shrine[184] like modern government officials. Sometimes the dancing girls became extremely wealthy and examples are not lacking of their setting up images of deities in temples[185] As rewards villages were bestowed on temples in perpetuity for the maintenance of dancing girls.[186]

Later Patronage of Dancing Girls

During the Pallava regime, grants of land were given to dancing girls and drummers, free of all imports.[187] At Sittannavāśal the pillars of the shrine are adorned with images of dancing girls. In 802 Nirūpaṇṇa Deva Prabhūtavarṣa made provision for dances performed by dancing girls.[188] In 1064 Vijayāditya, A Later Cāḷukya ruler, offered gifts of land to the drummers and the "pleasure-giving" dancing girls.[189] During the reign of another Cāḷukyan monarch, Udayāditya, in 1074, by the order of the senior queen, money was granted for the purchase of mirrors for the dancing girls.[190] A Hoysaḷa monarch specified the modes of music in 1117.[191] In 1148 another ruler Tribhuvana Malla Coḍa granted a village to certain dancing girls.[192] A Kaḷacūrya sovereign distributed food among singers, dancers, flute-players, drummers and eulogists in 1167.[193] In 1172 Coḍarāya Kulottuṅga Rājendra bestowed lands on girls of the Keśava Deva temple at Bezwada.[194] A Pāṇḍya prince in 1180, named Devarasa, is alleged to have carried forcibly a dancing girl from Uddare.[195] Padumala Devī, Cāmala Devī and Boppa Devī became known as skilled in the sciences of singing and dancing in 1184.[196] The Hoysaḷa monarch Narasiṁha in 1224 was surrounded with the tinkle of the shining golden bracelets of courtesans and the strains of the songs, full of sentiment, of the bands of singers.[197] In the reign of Suṅdara Pāṇḍya Deva I, in 1251, house sites were sold to weavers and dancing girls of a temple at Viṭṭūr.[198] The Kākatīya ruler Rudra Deva in 1289 granted lands to dancing girls,[199] and in about 1325 the Maṅgāyi *Basti* was built by Maṅgāyā of Beḷguḷa, the renowned crest-jewel of royal dancing girls.[200]

Dancing Girls in Vijayanagara—the 14th century

It is therefore natural that the custom of patronising dancing girls continued to the days of the Vijayanagara empire. We may now see how far the previous customs pertaining to such women affected the social life of the dancing girls in this period (1346-1646). Duarte Barbosa (1504-14) tells us that in Vijayanagara girls were dedicated to temples at the tender age of ten and he adds "There are also persons who offer the virginity of their daughters to an idol and, as soon as they are of ten years of age, they take her to a monastery and the house of prayer of that idol, with great honour and, accompanied by her relations entertaining her like one that is going to be married."[201] This reveals how the Vijayanagara people had become

the blind followers of a ruthless custom which was an atrocity in itself in the sacred name of God. Such dancing girls were paid as in Coḷa times. In 1358 certain lands and a daily allowance of cooked rice were granted to the Maṇṇikkam sisters,[202] obviously dancing girls. When Kampaṇṇa Oḍeyar was ruling in 1363, the sole manager of his palace Duggaṇṇa made provision for dancing, vocal and instrumental music in the temples of Veḷḷiyūr.[203] The Brāhmaṇas of Taḷirūr made a grant of land in 1369 for the support of the dancing girls to the Maḍhusūdana temple and they built a new village for this pupose.[204] During the regime of Cikka Kampaṇṇa Oḍeyar, the Brāhmaṇas of Ramānātha Prasanna Vijayapura bestowed in 1372 on the dancing girls of god Ramanātha thirty *gadyaṇa* every year.[205]

Barbosa's statement of dedicating a young girl of ten to a temple deity was not false and it can be seen how it was implemented in actual practice. In 1372 Rāmaṇṇa, a *Vīra Pāñcāla*, presented Ketavve "with pouring of water" as a dancing girl and arrangements were made for her support.[206]

Such dancing girls were associated with mirrors from antiquity. At Ajanta such a mirror or looking-glass is seen.[207] This practice was continued in Vijayanagara times. An inscription of Harihara dated 1380 refers to the exhibition of such a mirror in connection with dancing girls.[208] In Vijayanagara such looking glasses were taxed. A record from Shikārpur states that taxes due for providing marriage pandals and mirrors for dancing girls were remitted.[209] In 1382 certain dues were levied on such courtesans.[210] Sculptures sometimes depict dancing girls admiring themselves by looking into such looking glasses.

Dancing Girls in the 15th Century

In the 15th century this patronage of the dancing girls continued. All the *nāyakavādis* of Aḷūr made a grant in support of these dancing girls in 1403.[210] During the reign of Deva Rāya II, the Persian ambassador Abdur Razzak in 1443 saw those enchantresses and he exclaims that "the magnificence of the places of this kind (their residences apparently), the beauty of the young girls collected therein, their allurements and their coquetry, surpass all description."[211] It is evident that they must have been wealthy for he states that "each of these women was bedecked with pearls and gems of great value and was dressed in costly raiment."[212] They were so beautiful that they enchanted Abdur Razzak who, struck with their great charms, exclaimed that they were all extremely young and of perfect beauty.[213] In the early 15th century the poet Bhāskara depicts their attractions thus: "The lord of the world saw the mothers of the dancing girls who were capable of spinning ropes out of sand, of fixing the world at the end of a log, of supporting the mirage of playing on cymbals of the earth and the sky (having made the earth and sky as cymbals), of measuring the snow sinking on rocks and of extracting butter out of water."[214] Despite the poetic hyperbole in this description, still it reveals what the viles of these crafty courtesans were capable of. The traveller Nicolo dei Conti (1420-21),

after seeing the courtesans throughout the country and not the select ones in the capital, made a rather too sweeping a charge against all Indians whom he could never have known fully to justify his assertions. He said "Public women are everywhere to be had, residing in particular houses of their own, in all parts of the cities, who attract the men by their sweet perfumes and ointments, by their blandishments, beauty and youth, for the Indians are much addicted to licentiousness, but unnatural crimes are unknown among them."[214] This is too sweeping a statement and his last remark is also without foundation. Sexual aberrations were certainly known in India and their existence cannot be denied as I have shown elsewhere.[215] Nevertheless the evil effects of the prevalence of dancing girls on such a large scale could never be ruled out in the society in general. Abdur Razzak's impression of their wealth, beauty and social standing must have been to a large extent justified as it can be corroborated by later evidence of foreign visitors to Vijayanagara in the 16th century.

Dancing Girls in the 16th Century

During the reign of the great Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya (1509-30) a better view of these dancing girls is possible thanks to the accounts of the foreign travellers who had personally seen them. Paes, one of them, tells us that during his visit to the city (1520-22) they "were not low in the estimation of the public and that they were tolerated with great consideration. These women are of loose character and live in the best streets that are in the city; it is the same in all cities, their streets have the best rows of houses. They are very much esteemed and are classed among those honoured ones who are the mistresses of their captains; any respectable man may go to their houses without any blame attaching thereto. These women (are allowed) even to enter the presence of the wives of the king, and they stay with them and eat betel with them, a thing which no other person may do no matter what his rank may be."[216] The only exception to share this privilege as regards eating the *pān* and sitting in front of the emperor were the wrestlers. It is interesting to note that these courtesans could wrestle and a special wrestling match was arranged during the *Mahānavami* festival, by the king, Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya.[217]

The duties of these dancing girls were confined to dancing before a deity either in a temple or during festivals. They had to dance before the images especially when worship was conducted on Saturdays.[218] In the capital itself during the car festival (*rathotsava*) these women danced before the car and along with it.[219] In fact, whenever there was a car festival, there were always the dancing girls who were incidentally also "great musicians"[220] implying that they were good singers in their own right. On every day at dawn, during the *Mahānavami* festival, when the emperor was in the chapel of the House of Victory, these women in the square outside in front of it, had to dance.[221] At three o'clock in the afternoon the king witnessed their wrestling matches.[222] It is worth noting that the whole afternoon was spent

in the performance of their wrestling and dancing of these women.[223]

Sculptural Evidence

Owing to such royal patronage the dancing women acquired considerable wealth. As though corroborating what Razzak had observed in the 15th century as noted earlier, Paes also was dazzled by their prosperity. "Who can fitly describe" he exclaims, "to you the great riches these women carry on their persons?—collars of gold with so many diamonds and rubies and pearls, bracelets, also on their arms and on their upper arms, girdles below and of necessity anklets on the feet?"[224] This picture could not have been an exaggeration for the sculptures of the period fully bear it out with astonishing fidelity. The image of a dancing girl in Acyuta Rāya's temple corroborates the remarks of Paes, in a most amazing manner. Her image is carved in the posture of a dance and is fully adorned. She wears a skirt of a delicate texture, and has anklets, wristlets and armlets, all of which have been noted earlier (cf. ante). She also has strings of pearls on her head, neck and between her breasts. She has in her ears the typical *kuṇḍala* ear-rings, bejewelled with a series of precious stones whose precise nature cannot be determined. Therefore wondering at such magnificence of such women, he marvalled how such women could have acquired such wealth and hence inquires "The marvel should be otherwise, namely, that women of such a profession, should obtain such wealth, but there are women among them who have lands that have been given to them and litters and so many maid-servants that one cannot number all their things."[225] This too was no exaggeration or false for an inscription of the reign of Acyuta Rāya (1530-42) records that land was granted to certain dancing girls.[226]

Patronage After Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya—Dancing Girls in the 17th Century

After Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya the patronage of the dancing girls survived. An inscription from Tiruvaṇṇāmalai commemorates gifts to them from donors during the reign of Acyuta Deva Rāya.[227] Nuniz relates how during his visit, the courtesans were enjoying the prestige of olden days and in the course of the *Mahānavami* festival they were assigned a place in the "Nine Castles" structure in front of the King's palace.[228] When the sovereign was sitting there and the merriment was going on, there passed before him a thousand dancing girls posturing for his pleasure.[229] In 1599 the priest Pimenta saw some of them, observing "Thirty women dancers, which have devoted themselves to the Idol's perpetual service, which may not marrie, but prostitute themselves for the most part, all goodly and richly arrayed, all carrying Lampes burning."[230]

During the reign of Veṅkaṭa II, Caṅdra Śekhara Woḍeyar made a grant to his deity and his dancing girls.[231] In 1614 Veṅkaṭapati Rāju Gāru gave away eighty *kuṇṭas* of land to some dancers, drummers and dancing girls of the Cennakeśava

temple.[232] Even so late as 1664 in the court of Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka at Ikkeri (Keḷadi) public women were a notable feature. Pietro Della Valle, the traveller, saw a troop of dancing girls "adorned with Girdles, Rings upon their legs, Necklaces and other ornaments of gold, with certain Pectorals or Breast-plates, almost round, in the fashion of a shield and butting out with a sharp ridge before, embroidered with gold stuck either with jewels or some such things, which reflected the Sun-beams with marvellous splendour; as to the rest of their bodies they were uncovered, without any Veil or Head-tire."[233] Such a costume was a faint echo of the Vijayanagara courtesans' dress though it was certainly not as gorgeous as theirs and can well be compared with their sculptures on the friezes of the House of Victory.

Dancing Girls in Military Campaigns

Women accompanied their husbands or rulers during military campaigns.[234] It was certainly not a Muslim practice for it can be traced in early Hindu texts and inscriptions.[235] In the 16th century foreign travellers and chroniclers have left us their impressions of such a practice. According to Faria y Sousa, the courtesans, who had accompanied Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya alone, numbered more than twenty thousand;[236] even granting this might have been an exaggerated figure, the existence of such a usage cannot be denied. Barbosa (1504-14) also averred that they were numerous and did not fight, but for their love, their lovers, the soldiers fought. It is not possible to verify Barbosa's latter statement which appears fictitious. Their presence could only have been for the pleasures they afforded and little else.

The Quarters of the Dancing Girls

Already some details have been furnished about the dwellings of the Dancing Girls from an architectural angle. Such segregation was known from earlier times. During the reign of Rājarāja of Tanjore, the four-hundred women, attached to the temple there, lived in free quarters in the four streets round about that shrine.[236] In 1112 Mahādeva, a general of the Cāḷukyan ruler Vikramāditya VI, raised a sanctuary to the god Cāṇḍāleśvara, to which he added a residence of the public women.[237] The Kadamba ruler Caṭṭaya Deva, when sailing along Gove (Goa), "agreeably constructed bazars, harlot quarters and tanks" (*angaḍi-sūḷegerikeregaḷ-kaṇg-oppamamāḍi*).[238]

In Vijayanagara a better idea of such quarters can be obtained from contemporary evidence. All of them were housed in one street. Today at Hampi, a Dancing Girls' street is pointed but whether it was identical with its namesake cannot be stated with certainty. It is now a broad, long avenue, with one storied houses but a picture of desolation and deathly stillness. But in the days of Deva Rāya II it was completely different. The eye-witness, the ambassador Abdur Razzak, in 1443 saw it and found it thus: "Behind the mint, there is a sort of bazar, which is more than

300 yards long, 20 broad. On two sides of it, there are houses (*khanaha*) and fore-courts (*safhaha*) and in front of the houses, instead of benches (*kursi*), lofty seats are built of excellent stone and on each side of the avenue formed by the houses there are figures of lions, panthers, tigers and other animals, so well painted as to seem alive."[239] This was not the only street in which they dwelt for Razzak saw several other brothels within the seven fortresses which were all taxed.[240] This too was an ancient usage, traceable to the fourth century B.C.[241]

The Glamour of the Dancing Girls

The dancing girls of Vijayanagara cast a halo of enchantment on their contemporaries, indigenous as well as foreign. Abdur Razzak makes no secret of the spell they cast on him. He says "The beauty of the heart ravishers, their blanishments . . . After the noon-day prayers, they placed at the doors of their splendid houses, which were beautifully decorated, chairs and settees on which they sat. Every one is covered with pearls, precious stones, and costly garments. They are all exceedingly young and beautiful. Each has one or two slave-girls standing before her, who invite and allure to indulgence and pleasure. Any man, who passes through this place, makes choice of whom he will. The servants of these brothels take care of whatever is taken into them and if anything is lost, they are dismissed."[242]

Contemporary Views of the Dancing Girls' Quarters

Some Vijayanagara poets have preserved their memories of the Dancing Girls' Quarters from their own angles. Adṛṣya, a poet, in his poem *Prauḍha Rāyana Kāvya*, describes them during the reign of Mallikārjuna (1452-65):[243] "The place of decoration, the collection of beauty, the shop of cunning, the house of poison of the ten states of mind. joy for the eyes, the harvest field of Cupid, the home of signs, the garden of love, the wave of amour, the appointed place of eagerness, the birth-place of affectation—like these show the street of harlots who looked like garlands of Cupid."[244] Probably this is the finest description of that street from contemporary poets. Another poet Padmarasa furnishes an interesting account of that street. "Border of sin, limit of sorrow, town of several kinds of danger, great palace wherein character is lost, with this sort of evil reputation was burdened that street. Home of the work of cut-throats, place of deceits, house of lies, dwelling place of capture, bazar of cleverness, birth-place of disease, these, the harlot street contained."[245] The poet Padmarasa was perhaps the first indigenous writer to spell out the real dangers lying hidden in that dangerous Street of the Courtesans. He noticed this so late as 1599 and its evil reputation continued, even in the provinces like the distant Ikkeri. Della Valle noticed that in the outermost walls of the Ikkeri temple there were "very large streets, inhabited for the most part by the said dancers, or public strumpets."[246]

Dancing Girls and Dancing

These low women, despite all their evil practices, kept alive the art of dancing in the Vijayanagara age. According to some, a divine origin has been ascribed to it, and it has been claimed that Viṣṇu first exhibited it when he slew the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha. Lakṣmī, his consort, on noticing his graceful movements inquired what they indicated and he told her that they constituted the art of dancing.[247] There are also other views about its origin. How this art was taught to men has found several interpretations. The *Śivatatvaratnāraka* discloses that "Formerly the god Brahman, at the request of Indra taught dancing (*nṛtiya*) to Bharata in order to please Indra . . . That sage accompanied by his hundred sons, assisted by a band of celestial damsels, gave a performance of this before him."[248] That text also reveals to us that there were different types of dancing. "The form of dancing called *Tāṇḍava* was taught by Śiva to Tāṇḍava accompanied by various gesticulations. It was conveyed by Tāṇḍava to the sages and these gave it to the men."[249]

Dancing with this divine origin came to be practised in India from antiquity as an accomplishment even of royal women. Bāṇa (645) tells us that Rājyaśrī gradually grew up in daily increasing family with friends expert in song, dance, with all other accomplishments.[250] In the *Śivatatvaratnākara* it is treated with distinction. It states: "Dancing gives boldness to those whose who are not bold, enthusiasm to those who are dejected, it is the luxury of the kings, the fame of the generous, the remover of sorrow of those who are sad; it gives firmness to the fickle-minded; it is the honour of the honourable. Therefore dancing is indispensable for celebrating the birth of a son, or for the attainment of desired objects, and on all holidays. Dancing is charming, auspicious and it is liked by all people especially by kings: therefore it is praised."[251]

Dancing Saloon

Dancing being considered such an accomplishment had to be taught by experts. There were special schools or halls where dancing was taught and practised. Śūdraka in the *Mṛchchhakaṭika* (IVth Act) in describing the palatial buildings, reveals that in the fourth court of Vasantasenā, the courtesan, there was a music hall where ladies danced.[252] Dancing, as an accomplishment, was known in Coḷa times when separate halls existed for dancing purposes. An inscription of Parakesarivarman refers to a theatrical hall in which the *Āriya-k-kuṭṭu* was a prominent performance.[253] In South Indian temples sometimes a separate hall was built, besides the main shrine, called the *Nṛtya Maṇḍapa*. The Kailāsanātha temple, at Conjeevaram (Kāñci) had such an adjoining hall.[254]

But probably the finest dancing saloon in South India, if not in the entire country was raised at Vijayanagara in the 16th century. Its finest description can only be found in an account of Paes, who saw it personally. "This hall" he says

"is where the king sends his women to be taught to dance. It is a long hall and not very wide, all of stone sculpture on pillars which are at a distance of quite an arm's length from the wall. These pillars stand in that manner all around the building: they are half pillars made with other hollows(?) all gilt. In the supports (or pedestals) on the top are many great beasts like elephants and of other shapes; it is open so that the interior is seen, and there are on the inner side of these beasts, other images, each placed according to its character; there are also figures of men turned back to back and other beasts of different sorts. In each case from pillar to pillar is a cross-bar (the architrave) which is like a panel and from pillar to pillar are many such panels; there are images of old men, gilded and of the size of a cubit. Each of the panels has one placed in this way. These images are over all the building. And on the pillars are other images, smaller, with other images yet more subordinate, and other figures again, in such a way that I saw this work gradually diminishing in size on these pillars with these designs, from pillar to pillar, and each time smaller by the size of a span as it went on, becoming lost; so it went dwindling gradually away till there remained of all the sculptured work only the dome, the most beautiful I ever saw. Between these images and pillars runs a design of foliage, like (*a maneyra de lamines*) all gilt with the reverses of the leaves in red and blue, the images that are on the pillars are stags and other animals, and they are painted in colours with the pink on their faces, but the other images are seated on the elephants as well as those on the panels, all dancing women having little drums (tom-toms).

"The designs of these panels show the positions at the ends of dances in such a way that on each panel there is a dancer in the proper position at the end of the dance; this is to teach the women, so that, if they forget the position in which they have to remain when the dance is done, they may look at one of the panels where is the end of that dance. By that they keep in mind what they have to do.

"At the end of this house on the other hand is a painted recess where the women cling on with their hands in order better to stretch and loosen their bodies and legs; there they teach them to make the whole body supple, in order to make their dancing more graceful. At the other end, on the right, in the place where the king places himself to watch them dancing, all the floors and walls where he sits are covered with gold and in the middle of the wall is a golden image of a woman of the size of a girl of twelve, with her arms in the position which she occupies in the end of a dance."[255]

Naturally the feudatories of the Vijayanagara emperors followed suit and had their own dancing saloons. In 1599 there existed a State Dancing Saloon built by the Yeḷahaṅka Nāḍ Prabhu, named Kempeya Gauḍa.[256]

From this detailed description of a fine dancing saloon at the capital some of its chief features may be noted. It was essentially a training institute, primarily intended for teaching women how to dance. For this purpose it was filled with illustrative sculptures depicting the various phases of each type of dance, probably

restricted to the most important for there were ever so many of them. Such sculptures were carved from probably the bottom to the top of the walls in that room. The object of such carvings was to enable the dancers to learn, if they erred, to study from the illustration how they had to correct themselves and proceed with the dance. Another chamber of this saloon was devoted to enable the women to keep their limbs supple so that they could dance more gracefully. It is worth noting that, at the other end of this saloon a place was reserved for the king to watch the women dancing in the saloon. What happened to this fine edifice is not known but, in view of its fine goldgilted plates, it must have been robbed by the vandals during their six months' stay after the fatal catastrophe of 1565.

The Gilting Practice: Its Possible Origin

Paes tells us clearly that this Dancing Saloon, as well as many of the other edifices noted earlier, were gilded with plates of gold or with copper plates gilted with gold, which were painted all over with different colours of red and blue. From where did this practice originate and how are questions which have not been explained till now. It is known that in Mauryan times gold-gilting (*vāsitakaṁ*) was one of the various kinds of artisan work (*kārukarma*).[257] It has been seen that copper over pillars and walls was gilded with gold plating over which painting was often executed. Dealing with amalgams, Kauṭilya records that in them a single or double layer of a superior metal was made to cover a base metal and he clearly lays down that a copper-piece (*śulbarūpya*) may be covered with gold leaf, the surface and edges of such a metal being smoothened.[258] This implies that gold gilting of baser metals like copper was certainly known in India to Mauryan rulers but whether such a practice influenced the Vijayanagara craftsmen cannot be established for the interval between the 4th century B.C. and the 16th century is too long to warrant any such inference. But, during the reign of Shah Jahan the Mughal, (1628-56-59) gold plating of walls and its colour inlaying was well-known. Manrique (1629-43), a contemporary of Finch, noticed how in the *hammām* (bath) of the new *Ghusl Khanah* which Shah Jahan had newly built, the walls were raised: "The walls within them (the two minars in its interior) are all covered with rich plates of gold. On them the master gold-smith hath not proved his skill in the subtlety of the inter-laden flowers and grotesques, but also in the well-matched and mingled colour of his in-laying."[259] Finch corroborates Manrique stating that Khusru's mother lived in a residence whose walls and ceilings were over laid with gold.[260] Bernier, another eye-witness in the same period, observes that the *Jharokāh-i-Khās-'ām* (the public audience hall) was a magnificent hall "decorated with several rows of pillars, which as well as the ceiling, are all painted and overlaid with gold."[261] Silver plating was also known, and some of the Mughal bathing ponds were silver-plated.[262] All this evidence reveals that in the 17th century gold plating and colour-inlaying of such plates was well-known to the Mughals. Whether the Vijayanagara

craftsmen were influenced by it, through commercial contacts or other media need not be discussed here but it is certain that such craftsmanship was quite familiar to Hindu and Muslim metal workers in the same period.

Dancing Masters

Another important problem is that the Dancing Saloon was not necessarily a place where dancing girls could correct themselves in case they went wrong in their dancing exercises as Paes's account seems to suggest. We know for certain that in Vijayanagara times, as in the days of the Coḷas as noted earlier, there were men as well as lady teachers of dancing and their existence is attested by epigraphic evidence. On 25th January, 1518, the emperor Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya granted two villages for the maintenance of a dancing master (*nṛtyācārya*) in the temple of Brahmīśvara.[263] Such a dancing teacher can be on sculptures directing the dancers. Pietro Della Valle personally witnessed a dancing master in the streets of Ikkeri (Keḷadi) whom he calls "The Master of the Ballet" directing a dance and also dancing himself along with his dancers.[264] Women also could be such dance conductresses for he reveals to us that one of the dancers was "perhaps the mistress of the rest, danced along by herself."[265]

Male Dancers in Sculpture

The statement that men taught dancing implies that they too must have danced, but can this be substantiated? Firishta, the chronicler, records that in Vijayanagara even men knew dancing, stating that a Brāhmaṇa, while on his return from Banāras, adopted the lovely "Nehal" as his daughter and resolved to render her skilful in music and dancing of which "he was a perfect master." He adds that it took him one and half years to teach his foster daughter both those arts.[266] The sculptures admirably support Firishta and Della Valle in portraying that men were proficient in dancing, In one carving are seen two men, probably foreigners, jovially dancing and simultaneously playing on two small drums. Another sculpture furnishes better evidence by depicting not only a man about to dance but what is strange, he has a woman for his companion in dancing. Round them stand interested companions watching them about to commence a dance.

Costumes of Dancing Girls

Some account of costume has been given earlier but the dress worn by dancing girls deserves to be noticed in some detail. According to the sculptures, the women dancers wore loose skirts, which at times reached only up to their knees, though there are examples of similar loose gowns reaching their ankles. When any dance was in action, such a costume must have surely exposed the

limbs of the women dancers, revealing their thighs and legs. They must have worn some briefs to prevent nudity before witnessing audiences. None of them wore any garment above the waist as their sculptures disclose and such a dress must have contributed to the generation of a voluptuous atmosphere among their onlookers and the people in general. Sometimes dancing girls are seen entirely nude, for example, on the top row of the outer walls of the Hazāra Rāma's temple in the capital and also in some sculptures on the pillars of certain shrines in that city. But no traveller or eye-witness states that any nude dancing was indulged in by the people of Vijayanagara at any time. Probably such a type hardly prevailed in Vijayanagara and the testimony of the sculptures alone cannot be accepted as an absolute proof of its existence unless it is corroborated. There are sculptures in which we find the dancers wearing loose pyjamas or short skirts resembling the costumes of medieval Mughal danseuses. The long skirt during dancing actually appears as though it was divided into two parts. Some donned trousers or rather pyjamas beneath their skirts. This type of costume was probably an imitation of a contemporary Deccani Muslim usage as can be noticed in the paintings depicting dancers in the Deccan Muslim courts during the Vijayanagara period. Their costumes were apparently well embroidered and tastefully decorated. Some idea of the costumes of dancing girls can be seen from an account of Della Valle who saw some dancing girls performing in Ikkeri. One evening, going about in that town, he saw "several companies of young girls, well-clothed, after their manner, with some of the above mentioned wrought and figured silk from the girdle down-wards; and from thence upward either naked or striped and wrought with several, besides a scarf decked with yellow and white flowers formed into a high and large diadem, with some sticking out like sun-beams, and others twisted together and hanging down in several fashions, which made a pretty sight.[267] The latter flowers were obviously the *Ketaki* yellow flowers which, even today are worn in the twisted folds of hair on the head by women. In this description of the dancing girls' costume, it may be noted how Della Valle observed that sometimes they wore nothing above the waist, just as they are represented in many of the sculptures of Vijayanagara. In their sculptures we find them wearing the familiar large *kuṇḍalas* (ear-rings) in their ears, with their hair tied into knots above their heads which were at times filletted with strings of large and lovely pearls.

The Figures of the Dancers

The figures of the dancers in the sculptures and in the paintings are attractive: they are not either corpulent or heavy like some of the danseuses on the Hoysaḷa sculptures. The *Śivatatvaratnākara* lays down certain specific qualifications for a lady dancer. It prescribes that "The female dancer should not be either too tall or too short or too fat or too lean. She should possess fine qualities like beauty and liberality. She should have a beautiful face, large eyes, symmetrical limbs,

well rounded breasts and hips. She should not be easily tired and she should have good intelligence. She should be well-trained in making the movements of the feet, be free from disease, possess good health. She should always have pleasant speech, be clever in giving repartees and be ready to respect elders and those well-adorned with ornaments."[268] In these qualifications it is worth noting that attention was paid not only to physical aspects of personal beauty, so essential in a dancer, but also to desirable qualities of the mind like alertness, intelligence, pleasantness and respect to elders. We are not aware, even from foreign accounts, whether the Vijayanagara dancers possessed all these qualities but that they had commendable personal figures can be noticed from their contemporary sculptures.

Types of Dancing

The dancers of Vijayanagara were masters of different types of dancing, some of which can be recognised either in their sculptures or in the accounts of their writers or in those of foreign travellers who saw them. Chroniclers, like Firishta, observed that these "dancers of the Deccan" used to make "a thousand antic postures in dancing, retreating and turning round."[269] Being a Muslim of course he could not differentiate between the various types of their dancing excepting of course those which appeared to him in their movements. We may take some specimens of the different types of dancing, which cannot be considered in this context in all their complexity.

A "Ballet" or Group Dance

The traveller Della Valle in the capital of Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka at Ikkeri (Keḷadi) describes what he calls a ballet. He witnessed a dance "wherein they (the dancers) represented a Ballet and the actions of slaughter. In the conclusion the Master of the Ballet, who directs all, and was one of those that brought them, danced in the midst of them with a naked Ponyard, wherewith he represented the actions of slaughter as the women did with their short sticks."[270] What type of dance this actually was it is difficult to determine but it seems to have been a folk-lore type known as the stick-play with the innovation of their leader playing or dancing with a sword instead of a stick (*kolu*) as did all the other women who had participated in that dance.

The Kolāṭa Dance in Sculpture

The *kolāṭa* or the stick-play was a dance with the stick (*kolu*) which can claim some antiquity for it can be noticed in the Bāgh Caves (4th century) where its identity cannot be disputed.[271] Nicolo dei Conti had noticed this type of dancing in 1420-21 during the reign of Deva Rāya II. He observed how "Some sing, dancing in

a circle, after our manner, while others sing forming a line in a single file, one after the other, and exchanging little painted rods, of which each carries two, with those whom they meet on turning, the effect was extremely pretty."[272] Such a practice still prevails in many parts of our country. During the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya this type of dance must have continued for the sculptures of his reign are the best evidence to support such a view. It is very interesting to note how truly these carvings corroborate the pictorial description of this dance as given by an eye-witness like Pietro Della Valle. During his visit to Ikkeri (Keḷadi), the capital of the chief Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka, Della Valle found a group of women carrying sticks in their hands and he relates what he saw: "All of them carried in each hand a painted stick about a span long or a little more, which they struck together after a musical measure to the sound of drums and other instruments and one of the skilfullest of the company sung one verse of a song, at the end of which they replied seven or eight times in the number of the meter with the word *Cole*! *Cole*! *Cole*! which signfies I know not what but, I believed, it is a word of joy, singing in this manner, they went along the street, eight or ten together being either friends or neighbours, followed by many other women, not dressed in the same fashion but who were either their mothers or kinswomen."[272] The word *cole* (*kolu*) incidentally means a stick in Kannaḍa which Della Valle did not know and implied nothing else. It has no connection with the deity Kālī as the editor supposed.[273]

This *kolāṭa* dance as Della Valle had observed, was executed in two ways: one was in circles and the other was in a single file. The former is reminiscent of the modern Gujarati *garbha* which is less picturesque and not so complicated as the *kolāṭa* of Vijayanagara times. Della Valle also distinguished the tempo of this type of dancing remarking how they began "all their dances slowly and by degrees growing to a heat at last end with furious motions which appear well enough."[274] The Vijayanagara freizes depict how the *kolāṭa* dancers clicked not only each others sticks but in the ecstasy and perfection of their rhythmic movements, contacting even one another's legs with their hands!

A Karnāṭaka Type of Garbha

Della Valle, who saw many dances at Ikkeri, witnessed one which may be called the Karnāṭaka type of *garbha* dance, performed before a temple, which he does not name. He states thus "In this order they (the dancing women) came into the Piazza and there, after they had made a large ring, the dancing began: first two dancing women, one from one side of the circle and another from another, yet both with their faces always turned towards the idols, walked three steps forward and then three backward and this they did innumerable times. I suppose it was a way of saluting the idols. After the said two dancers alone had done thus, two others from the several sides joined with them and they did the same again, three and three. This salutation or Preamble of the Ballet being many times repeated, they began to

dance, namely, two that danced better than the rest, one on the right side of the circle and other on the left, both with their faces, never with their backs, towards the Palanchine (palanquin) of the Idols, though often in the dance they retired backwards as well as went forwards. Their dancing was high, with frequent leapings and odd motions, sometimes inclining their haunches as if they meant to sit down, sometimes rising very high and causing the skirt wherewith they are covered from the girdle downwards before them, wherewith they now and then made as if they were thrusting or fencing: besides other mad gestures which were all accompanied with words which they sang and sometimes with cries more apt to give horror than delight."[275] The ignorant Della Valle, apart from seeing the dance, not knowing what the dancers were saying or what the symbols signified, gives only a rough and vague idea of what he saw and little else.

An Open-Air Circus Dance

Another dance, which Della Valle witnessed, was an open-air dance, which a woman, who had accompanied the ambassador of Veṅkaṭappa Nāyaka performed. Della Valle relates "Standing upon one foot, when the drums and other instruments sounded, with the other she swiftly turned round in the Air a large iron Ring about a span in Diameter, without letting it fall off her great Toe, and at the same time with one hand standing firm tossed two hollow brass balls, catching one in her Hand whilst the other was aloft and so alternately and very nimbly without ever letting them fall, which indeed was great dexterity to be employed at the same time with the foot or the hand, all the while on the other foot without support and yet attending to the musick and this for a good space together; during which an old Man with a white beard and bald head, who brought her stood behind her crying all the while Abud, Abud, Abud (*ahudu* etc.) which in their language signifies "yes" and in this instance as "Good, Good, Good."[275] This feat was a fine example of a dance combined with ingenious agility for public entertainment. *Ahudu* in Kannaḍa means "Yes!" and in this case it must have implied "That's right! Right!"

Classical Dances

Till now some examples have been of mixed, folk-lore and open-air dancing and now we may examine a couple of classical dances which were well-known to Vijayanagara dancers as can be seen from their sculptures and their literary works. In fact their sculptures reveal specimens of such classical dancing though they may not have followed their classical models most faithfully. Some examples may be cited to see how far this statement is correct. Bharatamuni, in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*, describes one of his dances as follows:

Vṛścikam caraṇam kṛtvā karam parave nikuñcayet |
nāsāgre dakṣinascaiva seya tattu nikuñcitam ||

"Making the leg like a scorpion and placing the left hand by the side and keeping the right hand in the front (part) of the nose—is called *nikuñcitam.*"[276] Bearing this verse in mind, one may look at one of the sculptures to appreciate how far the Vijayanagara artists followed Bharata's directives in dancing. The woman in a sculpture, in the second row, has raised her leg to imitate or symbolise a scorpion's tail, placing her left hand by her side, while she has only lifted her right hand over her head so as to almost touch her raised leg. Only in this last detail has this dancer strayed from Bharata's directions. Whether this was through inadvertance or purposely cannot be determined. In another case, however, Bharata's *Gaṅgāvataraṇam* was followed faithfully as defined in the following couplet:

ūrdhvāṅgulitalaḥ paṭastrī-panaka-vadhomukhau |
dṛṣau śirastānnā-tañcaṅga-gataraṇāṅtvitī ||

"Keeping the soles of the feet up and legs (erect) like a flag and hands on the ground and head raised above is called the *gaṅgāvataraṇam.*[277]

This is exactly what the dancer before a king (probably Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya) is doing in exhibiting her dancing skill and following Bharata's injunctions.

The contemporary poets like these sculptures have preserved their memories of the various dances they had witnessed from time to time. The poet, Terakanāmbi Bommarasa has expressed in two lines the rhythm and ecstasy of a dance he must have seen: "The young girls danced like a moving golden creeper, like a shining golden image, like lightning appearing again and again."[278] Another poet Ratnākaravarṇi who lived in about 1557 describes with great charm his impression of a dance: "They killed the onlookers by their sight, plundered by their piercing smiles and captured the fortress of their heart by their bodily movement. In her dance, she turns round and round like the whirl-pool of the sea of love. She waves to the right and left like the young serpent (or the snake on a betel leaf) in the morning sun."[279]

The feudatories of the Vijayanagara emperors hardly lagged behind either in the patronage or cultivation of the arts of dancing and music. Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore, mentioned earlier, was himself a master of music and a noted composer. In the fine work *Raghunāthābhyudaya*, the author Ramābhadrambā relates how that chieftain witnessed in his court at Thanjāvūr various dances among which was one called *Raghunātha Vilāsa* named after himself.[279]

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the Ajanta frescoes, the clear-cut outlines which distinguish the Javanese sculptures but they are much more realistic than their heavy Hoysaḷa counterparts. The Vijayanagara dancing girls represented in their sculptures, nevertheless, considering the rough and unyielding granite on which they were carved, have certain distinctive features which render them memorable in the sphere of Indian art. They are invested with a delicate frailty, a gliding motion, a delicacy of texture especially of their costumes, ornaments, and the wonderful symmetry of their forms. The dancing girls of Vijayanagara in their sculptures are without doubt the finest specimens of its art and their existence and merit, which have been denied to them till now, deserve our warmest recognition in the pantheon of Indian art.

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3 On Hemādri see *I.A.*, VI, pp. 161 et seq., also Saletore B.A., *SPL.*, I, p. 130.
4 Cf. Saletore, op. cit., I, pp. 104-5.
5 *E.C.*, V, Cn text, p. 52.
6 Cf. Saletore B.A. op. cit., pp. 104-5.
7 Cf. Ramachandran, T.N., *Tīruparattikunram*, Bulletin of the Madras Museum.
8 *E.I.*, VII, no. 7, p. 116.
9 Ramachandran, op. cit., pp. 2-3.
10 *I.A.*, XL, p. 161.
11 Ibid., p. 64, f.n. 4.
12 Ramachandran, op. cit., pl. VIII (3).
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid., p. 95.
15 Ibid., pl. XIII (23-26).
16 Ibid., pl. XV (32).
17 Ibid., pl. XIV (29).
18 Ibid., pl. XIX (47).
19 Ibid., pl. XVII (39-40).
20 Ibid., pl. XX (52).
21 Ibid., pl. XVIII (41).
22 Ibid., pl. XXVI (70).
23 Ibid., pl. XXVII (73-4).
24 Ibid., pl. XXI (53-54).
25 Ibid., pl. (58).
26 Ibid., pl. XXV.
27 Ibid., pl. XXV (65).
28 Ibid., pl. XXVI (69).
29 Ibid., pl. X (10).
30 Ibid., pl. XI (69).
31 Ibid., pl. XXVI (69).
32 Ibid., pl. XXVI (70).
33 Ibid.
34 Ibid., pl. XIV (29).
35 Cf. *Jaina Art and Architecture*, ed. by A. Ghosh. C. Sivaramamurti, *Paintings and wood Carvings*, p. 388.
36 Ibid., pl. 261.
37 Ibid., pl. 262.
38 Ibid., pl. 263.
39 Ibid., pl. 264.
40 Goetz, *India*, pp. 186-87.
41 Ramachandran, op. cit., pl. XIX (46).
42 Ibid., pl. XXVI (71).
43 Ibid., pl. XXVII (75).
44 Ibid., pl. XXIX (81-82).
45 Elliot and Dowson, *History*, IV, p. 118.
46 Ibid., IV, p. 287; Major, *India*, p. 29.
47 Ibid., p. 287, Major, ibid., p. 22.
48 Cf. Sewell, *F.E.*, p. 113.
49 Razzak, Elliot and Dowson, *History*, IV, p. 287.
50 Paes, Sewell, *F.E.*, p. 274.
51 Ibid., p. 275.
52 Ibid., pp. 276-77.
53 Ibid., p. 277.
54 Ibid., pp. 251-52.
55 Ibid., p. 255.
56 Ibid., pp. 265-66.
57 Ibid., p. 266.
58 Paes, Sewell, *F.E.*, pp. 267-68.

Vṛścikam caraṇam kṛtvā karam parave nikuñcayet |
nāsāgre dakṣinascaiva seya tattu nikuñcitam ||

"Making the leg like a scorpion and placing the left hand by the side and keeping the right hand in the front (part) of the nose—is called *nikuñcitam.*"[276] Bearing this verse in mind, one may look at one of the sculptures to appreciate how far the Vijayanagara artists followed Bharata's directives in dancing. The woman in a sculpture, in the second row, has raised her leg to imitate or symbolise a scorpion's tail, placing her left hand by her side, while she has only lifted her right hand over her head so as to almost touch her raised leg. Only in this last detail has this dancer strayed from Bharata's directions. Whether this was through inadvertance or purposely cannot be determined. In another case, however, Bharata's *Gaṅgāvataraṇam* was followed faithfully as defined in the following couplet:

ūrdhvāṅgulitalaḥ paṭastrī-panaka-vadhomukhau |
dṛṣau śirastānnā-tañcaṅga-gataraṇāṅtvitī ||

"Keeping the soles of the feet up and legs (erect) like a flag and hands on the ground and head raised above is called the *gaṅgāvataraṇam.*[277]

This is exactly what the dancer before a king (probably Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya) is doing in exhibiting her dancing skill and following Bharata's injunctions.

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51 Ibid., p. 275.
52 Ibid., pp. 276-77.
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54 Ibid., pp. 251-52.
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58 Paes, Sewell, *F.E.*, pp. 267-68.

59 Ibid., p. 268.
60 Ibid., p. 273.
61 Ibid., p. 274.
62 Ibid., p. 275.
63 Ibid., p. 241.
64 Ibid., p. 275.
65 *S.C.R.*, 1912-13, p. 60.
66 *Kṛṣṇārjuna-saṁvādaṁ, Sources*, p. 149.
67 *M.A.R.*, 1924, p. 2; also see *S.C.R.*, 1914-15, pp. 33-34.
68 *T.I.*, July 31, 1975, p. 4.
69 Paes, Sewell, op. cit., p. 273.
70 Narasimhacharya, *Halebid.*
71 *Raghunāthābhyudayam, Sources*, p. 265.
72 Francis, *Madura*, I, p. 269.
73 Cf. Satyanatha Iyer, *Nāyakas of Madura*, pp. 204-22.
74 Della Valle, *Travels*, p. 140 (Havers' ed.).
75 *E.C.*, VIII, Nr 5, text, pp. 344-45.
76 Du Jarric, op. cit., p. 669; Heras, *Āravīḍu*, I, p. 486.
77 Heras, op. cit., I, p. 487.
78 Ibid., pp. 490-92.
79 Cf. *Fr B, Coutinho to Fr J. Alvares*, Vellore, Nov. II, 1607; Heras, op. cit., I, p. 490.
80 *Mānasāra*, pp. 63-64; Acharya, *Indian Architecture*.
81 Cf. *A.S.R.*, 1903-4; p. 130.
82 *S.I.I.*, pt. III, p. 260. Also see Sastri, *The Colas*, pp. 503, 655.
83 Ibid., p. 261.
84 Cf. for the *nāṭakaśālā* of Cola times, in the Tiruviḍai-maraḍūr see *199 of 1907*; *154 of 1895*. Such theatres were also built for specific occasions; cf. *398 of 1921; 152 of 1925, W 253-54 of 1914*.
85 Ibid., p. 379. Endowments for a *nṛtyabhoga* (*sakkai-kaṇi*), for the performance of the *āriyak-kuṭṭu* at the annual festivals in Triuvāḍu turai from the 9th regnal year of Rājarāja I (A.D. 994) and that of a *taṭṭarakkaṇa* (gold-smiths' holding).
86 Cf. *120 of 1925*.
87 *152 of 1925*.
88 *S.I.I.*, pt. II, pp. 306-7.
89 *264 of 1907*.
90 *557 of 1917*.
91 Rice, *Mysore Ins.*, p. 202.
92 *E.C.*, IX, Nl 50.
93 Ibid., VII, Sk 100.
94 Ibid., VII, Sk 123.
95 *Nārāyaṇavilāsamu, Sources*, p. 53.
96 *Gaṅgadāsa Pratāpavilāsam, Sources*, p. 142.
97 Cf. Wilson, *The Theatre of the Hindus*, I, pp. 287; II, p. 10.
98 *Jāmbāvatīkalyāṇām, Sources, p.* 142.
99 *Raghunāthābhyudayam, Sources*, p. 254.
100 Cf. *99 of 1916*.
101 *Sources*, p. 265.
102 *Śivatatvaratnākara*, (vs 3-7), p. 168, text, edited by Rama Rao and Sastriar.
103 *E.I.*, XIII, no. 6, p. 16.
104 *S.I.I.*, II, pt. III, p. 357, text, p. 347; cf. ibid., I, no. 25, para 29.
105 *E.I.*, XIII, no. II, p. 155.
106 Cf. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, pp. 417, 431, (2nd ed., 1955).
107 *M.E.R.*, 1913, p. 111.
108 *340, 341 of 1906, A.R.E., 1907, VII, A Report on Epigraphy*.
109 *E.C.*, V, p. XXV, 26.
110 *E.I.*, VI, no. 2, p. 19.
111 Ibid., XIII, p. 334.
112 Cf., *E.I.*, XI, p. 149 et seq.
113 *E.I.*, XII, p. 287.
114 Ibid., XIII, no. 4, p. 52.
115 *E.C.*, VII, Sk 92.
116 Ibid., VII, Sk 105.
117 Ibid., X, Kl 222.
118 *E.I.*, no. 24, p. 273.
119 Ibid., I, p. 401.
120 Nuniz, Sewell, *F.E.*, p. 363.
121 Ibid. Among South Indian (*Karnāṭaki*) tunes (*rāgās*) some have been adopted in North Indian (*Hindustāni*) music, and of these some are *Hamsadhvani*, *Charukeśi*, *Kirwāṇi* (also now current in Marāṭhi *Nāṭya Saṅgīt* dramatic music), *Abhogi*, *Vasanta* (as *Vasant*) and *Vāchaspati*. Similarly some North Indian (*Hindustāni*) *rāgas* have found their way into *Dakṣiṇādi* (*Karnāṭaki*) music, namely, *Hammīr Kalyāṇi*, *Jinjhoṭi*, *Behāg* and so forth.
122 Butterworth, op. cit., I, (v. 17), p. 29.
123 Du Jarric, op. cit., I. pp. 673-74; Heras, *Āravīḍu*, I, p. 497.
124 *Saṅgīta Sudhā, Sources*, p. 269.
125 *Raghunāthābhyudayam, Sources*, p. 301.
126 *E.C.*, VIII, Tl 182.

127 Viz. *Hamsadhvani, Cārukeśi, Vasantā.*

128 Wilks, *Hist. Sketches of South India*, I, p. 38.

129 Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, I, pp. 210-11.

130 Khafi Khān, *Muntakhabu - l - Lubab Mahammad Shāhi*, Elliot and Dowson, *History*, VII, also see *Later Mughuls*, p. 45, (Sushil Gupta's ed. 1952, Calcutta).

131 *S.I.I.*, pt. I, p. 94.

132 Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, p. 797.

133 *S.I.I.*, II, pt. III, p. 301.

134 Ibid., II, pt. I, no. 1, p. 11.

135 Rice, *Mysore Ins.*, no. 84, p. 172.

136 Rangachari, op. cit., III, p. 1649.

137 *E.C.*, VII, Mj 18, (guitars-*kahalā*) cf. *Veṇu-vīṇā*, text, p. 796, trans. p. 266.

138 *E.C.*, VII, Sk 185.

139 Ibid., Sk 125.

140 Ibid., XII, Pg 18: *śaṅka-cakralu.*

141 Ibid., X, Kl 101.

142 Ibid., VIII, Sb 153.

143 Paes, Sewell, *F.E.*, p. 246.

144 *Sources*, p. 111.

145 *E.I.*, VIII, p. 137.

146 *E.C.*, VIII, Nr 67.

147 Elliot and Dowson, *History*, IV, p. 108.

148 Major, *India*, p. 38.

149 Ibid., p. 33.

150 Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., IV, p. 115.

151 Ibid., p. 119.

152 Major, *India*, p. 29, (Haklyut's ed. 1857).

153 *E.C.*, XII, Gb 29.

154 Cf. Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, Bk I, p. 43, text, p. 44; also see my *Sex in Indian Harem Life*, pp. 147-48.

155 Barbosa, *Travels*, p. 88 (Stanley's ed.); Cf. my *Sex in Indian Harem Life* for further details on this subject.

156 Ibid., p. 92.

157 Nuniz, Sewell, *F.E.*, p. 372.

158 Purchas, *Pligrimes*, X, p. 95.

159 Ibid.

160 Barbosa, *Travels*, p. 89.

161 Ibid.

162 Nuniz, Sewell, op. cit., p. 333.

163 Ibid., p. 353.

164 Ibid., p. 318.

165 Ibid., p. 321.

166 *E.I.*, IX, p. 341.

167 Narasimhacharya, *K.K.*, II, p. 82: *saṅgīta.*

168 Ibid., pp, 279-80:
noṭadolage kiṅdaromme noṭakaranu nātiṣina-sunageyiṅda |
looṭimāḍidaru maiyoledāṭadiṅde delgoṭeya-koṇḍarenembe ||
Suridu suṭṭuvalu nāṭyadolu sammohana jaladhisūliye embaṅte |
balakeḍu koledu harivalelavsillali yelanā-gaharivaṅte mulidu ||

169 Ibid , II, p. 280 cf.:
ukkaṅtavāgi gānarasavanu |
dikku dikkige cimmuvaṅte ||
cokka cokkane tānagala taṅdu koralali |
Jakkulisidaru jāneyaru ||

170 Sastri, *The Colas*, p. 796. Sastri's dates are rather arbitrary and cannot be accepted as definitive.

171 *S.I.I.*, II, pt. III, p. 259.

172 *306 of 1907.*

173 Nilakanta Sastri, op. cit., p. 417.

174 *211 of 1912.*

175 Sastri, op. cit., pp. 375, 397.

176 Rangachari, op. cit., II, p. 1277.

177 Ibid.

178 *S.I.I.*, III, pt.III, p. 420.

179 Sastri, op. cit., pp. 343, 348.

180 *M.E.R.*, 1915, p. 98.

181 Rangachari, op. cit., II, p. 887.

182 *172 of 1923.*

183 *M.E.R.*, 1913, no. 47, p. 99.

184 *S.I.I.*, II, pt. III, p. 278.

185 Rangachari, op. cit. I, p. 250

186 *S.I.I.*, III. pt. I.

187 *E.C.*, XI, Dg 20.

188 Ibid., IX, Nl 61.

189 Ibid., XI, Mk 29.

190 Ibid., VII, Sk 295.

191 Rice, *Mysore Insc.*, no. 146, p. 262.

192 Rangachari, op. cit., II, p. 803.

192 *E.C.*, VII, Sk 102.

194 Rangachari, op. cit., II, p. 887.

195 *EC.*, VII, Sk 300.

196 Ibid., IV, pt. II, Ng 32

197 *E.C.*, XI, Dg.

198 Rangachari, op. cit., I. p. 386.

199 Ibid., II, p. 844.

200 *E.C.*, II, nos. 339, 341.

201 Barbosa, *Travels*, p. 96 (Stanley's ed.).

202 *E.C.*, X, Mr 21, 22.

203 Ibid., X, Kl 101.

204 Ibid., V, Ak 134.
205 Ibid., IV, Gu 32.
206 Ibid., IV, Gu 34
207 Cf. K.H. Vakil, *At Ajanta Cave*, XVII, p. 38.
208 Rice, *Mysore Ins*. p. 223.
209 *E.C.*, VII, Sk 295.
210 Ibid., IV, Ch. 45.
211 Major, *India*, p. 29.
212 Ibid.
213 Ibid.
214 Ibid., p. 23.
215 Cf. my *Sex Life Under Indian Rulers*, pp. 209-220.
216 Paes, Sewell, *F.E.*, pp. 234, 259.
217 Ibid., pp. 240, 258
218 Nuniz, Ibid., p. 360.
219 Ibid., p. 358.
220 Ibid., pp. 240, 253.
221 Ibid. pp. 256, 258.
222 Paes, Sewell, op. cit., p. 258.
223 Ibid., p. 261.
224 Ibid., p. 260.
225 Ibid.
226 Rangachari, op. cit., II, (347), p. 785.
227 Sewell, *Lists*, I. p. 207.
228 Nuniz, Sewell, *F.E.*, pp. 357-59.
229 Ibid., p. 358.
230 Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, X, pp. 220-21.
231 *E.C.*, IV, Ch 23.
232 Rangachari, op. cit., II, p. 1079.
233 Della Valle, *Travels*, II, p. 269.
234 Cf. my *Sex in Indian Harem Life*, pp. 118-45.
235 Ibid., p. 118; also see *S.I.I.*, II, p. 259.
236 Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, I, p. 111, (Steven's trans.).
237 *E.I.*, XIII, p. 39.
238 Ibid., p. 309, text, p. 308 (v. 7): *aṅgaḍi-sūlegeri-keregal-kaṅgoppamamāḍi*.
239 Elliot and Dowson, *History*, IV, pp. 111-12.
240 Ibid., p. 111.
241 Kauṭilya, *Arthaśātra*, Bk II, ch. XXVII, text, p. 125, trans. p. 139: "Every prostitute (*rūpajīvā*) shall pay every month twice the amount of a day's earnings (*bhogadviguṇam*) to the government."
242 Elliot and Dowson, *History*, IV, p. 111.
243 Sewell, *F.E.*, p. 307.
244 Narasimhacharya. *Karnāṭaka Kavicarite*, II, p. 307:
Siṅgarada tāṇa sobagina saṅteyatikuṭila |
daṅgaḍi daśāvasthegala nañjināgaravu |
kangalatihabba kāvanasuggiyā polaṁ
bhaṅgibhāvadole belevā ||
iṅgitada bīḍu beṭada toṭa mohada ta | raṅga
tavakadagottu bēḍaginudbhava bhūmi |
yaṅgajana avasarasaraṅgalantiva sūleheṅgalā
keriyesegu ||
245 Narasimhacharya, *K.K.*, II, p. 316:
Pāpadaṅgaḍi duḥkhada sīme bahuvidha
dāpattina purateja |
pāpamahālaya vembapakīrtiya tā pottu
merevudākeri ||
gadakinālaya thakkina bīḍanṛtada sadana
vaisikada bhavanavu |
caduringapeṭe vyādhiya tavaramaneyam |
dedegoṇḍu dāsūlegeri ||
246 Della Valle, *Travels*, II, p. 282.
247 Cf. *Rūpam*, no. 13, Jan.-June, 1923, pp. 25-26.
248 Basavarāja, *Śivatatvaratnākara*, p. 173.
249 Ibid.
250 Bāṇa, *Harṣacarita*, p. 121.
251 Cf. Basavarāja, *Śivatatvaratnākra*, p. 173.
252 Śūdraka, *Mṛchchhakaṭika*, Act IV; *I.H.Q.*, V, June 1929, p. 309.
253 *S.I.I.*, III, pt. III, p. 378. In such temples, halls (*maṇḍapa*), in the various types of dances (*nṛtya*) were performed for the benefit of the public. Of these *āriyak-kuṭṭu* was one.
254 On the *ariyak-kuṭṭu;* see Sastri, *The Colas*, p. 575.
255 Paes, Sewell, *F.E.*, pp. 276-77.
256 *E.C.*, XII, Kg 29.
257 Cf. Kauṭilya, *Arthaśāstra*, Bk II, ch. XIV, p. 95, text, p. 90.
258 Ibid., p. 96, text, p. 91.
259 Cf. Manrique, *Travels*, II, p. 163.
260 Finch, *Travels*, pp. 162, 165; also see Manrique, op. cit., II, pp. 192, 193.
261 Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 260, 261, also see Tavernier, *Travels*, I, p. 81.
262 Cf. Ibid., pp. 248 et. seq.
263 Rangachari, op. cit. II, p. 1222.
264 Della Valle, *Travels*, II, pp. 273, 282.
265 Ibid., pp. 269-70.
266 Firishta, *The Rise*, II, p. 380.
267 Della Valle, *Travels*, II, pp. 269-70.

268 Basavarāja, *Śivatatvaratnākara*, (49), p. 174.
269 Firishta, *The Rise*, II, p. 373.
270 Marshall and Others, *The Bāgh Caves*, pls. D and E.
271 Nicolo Conti, Major, *India*.
272 Pietro Della Valle, *Travels*, II, p. 258.
273 Ibid.
274 Ibid., pp. 272-73.
275 Ibid., II, p. 263.
276 *M.E.R.*, 1914, p. 76.
277 Ibid., 1914, pl. 81 (v. 93).
278 Narasimhacharya, *K.K.*, II, p. 131.
279 *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, *Sarga*, XII; *Sources*, p. 279.

SELECT GLOSSARY

Aḍe-vaṇa	A tax on anvils (*E.C.*, XII Ck, 8).
Adhiṣṭhāna	The base, plinth, below the cornice.
Ajira	A courtyard.
Akrapaṭṭiyal	The space below the pillars, the floor for worshippers to walk on.
Akṣayamālā	A rosary, a motif, a moulding.
Alambana-bāha	The balustrade.
Aliṅda	A balcony, a gallery.
Aliṅdra	The circumambient space (*pradakṣiṇa*) between the walls of the sanctum (*garbhagṛha*).
Alpavimāna	Lit. a small tower over the sanctum (*garbhagṛha*) comprising of one storey (*tāḷa*) and one garland (*hāra*).
Āmlaka	A chair, a chair-type of moulding. (*C.V.*, VI, 2, 4).
Anarpita	Cf. *arpita* (infra).
Aṅkuśa	A trident, a symbolic motif in Hindu imagery.
Ardha-maṇḍapa	Lit. a half-pavilion, adjacent to the sanctum (*garbhagṛha*) or the *aṅtarāla* of the north also called *mukha-maṇḍapa*, the ante-chamber leading to the *garbhagṛha*.
Arpita	(Cf. *anarpita* above) A string (*hāra*) moulding above each storey (*tāḷa*) including the plinth (*adhiṣṭhāna*), a *pāda* (step) above the

	praṣṭara (entablature) or *grīva* (neck).
Āsandi	A throne or seat moulding.
Aṣṭadikpāla	Protectors of the Eight Quarters.
Aśvapāda	Lit. a horse's foot type of moulding, a pedestal.
Ayatasāra	A moulding rectangular in shape or plan.
Aṭṭala	A watch-tower or a gate-way tower.
Avasāraka	Overhanging eaves.
Bāṇa	An arrow, associated with certain images.
Bhadra	Lit. a temple open on all sides.
Bhitti	Part of a temple wall corresponding to a step (*pāda*).
Biṭṭi	Forced labour (cf. *viṭṭi*) once employed in the construction of temples by the Hoysaḷa Biṭṭideva Viṣṇuvardhana (Cf. *E.C.*, IV, no. 53, p. 133).
Cakra	A wheel, a symbol.
Catturasa	One of the three important archaeological temple plans square in shape and also circular (*vṛtta*).
Chchhanda	A specific gradation of the superstructural units.
Damaru	A drum; cf. *dhakka*.
Devakoṣṭha	A niche for deities in specific forms and directions.
Dhanus	A bow, a symbol in imagery.
Dīpa-māle	Lit. a light garland, a lamp post seen in Hindu shrines (cf. *mānastambha*, infra).
Drāviḍa	Southern, a temple structure while other styles are *nāgara* and *vesara* in Śilpa texts.
Drupada	A post (*R.V.*, 3, 32, 3).
Dvāra	A door invariably of temples (cf. *dvārapāla*).
Dvārapāla	A door-keeper or protector, an image seen in either sides of a temple (cf. the northern *pratīhāra*).
Dvyasra	A rectangular moulding ending with an apse.
Gadyaṇa	A coin, a goldsmith's weight equal to 20 *vals*, 8 *māsas*, or half a *tolā* or about 52 grains Troy (Saletore, *S.P.L.*, II, p. 437).
Gairika	Red chalk.
Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa	A two-headed eagle symbol.
Gandharva-mukha	A bust or face in openings of the *caitya*-windows (*kūḍu*).
Garbhagṛha	The sanctum or the inner most room in a shrine where the leading image of worship is kept.
Gariḍi	A gymnasium.
Gavakṣa	A screen window often seen in Western Cāḷukyan shrines.
Ghana-dvāra	A large grill window or pilastered niche in a shrine.
Gopuram	A tower on the gateway of a temple.
Goṣṭhapañjaram	A niche in the walls of a temple, generally on the outer walls.
Grīva	Lit. a neck, a portion of the temple.

Hāra	A garland, a symbolic moulding.
Hārantara	A conduit for draining water from the shrine (the sanctum) between the *kūṭa* (a *śikhara* unit) and another unit (*śāla*).
Harmya	A fine palace.
Hṛṇmālā	A jewel worn on the chest of images of deities.
Hasti-hasta	An elephant trunk balustrade seen in Ceylonese shrines.
Hasti-nakha	An elephant nail motif adorning elephant capitals in shrines.
Jagati	A rectangular high moulding at the base of the plinth (*adhiṣṭhāna*) and the lowest plain moulding of the plinth (viz. the *upānam*).
Jantaghara	An artist, a craftsman.
Kalaśa	Lit. a pot, an emblem of a water pot crowning the top of a temple.
Kandam	A plain corbel.
Kapota	A roll cornice or larmier, the main cornice of a building synonymous with *candra*, *lupa*, *gopaṇa* etc.
Kapota-bandha	A form of the *adhiṣṭhāṇa* crowned with a *Kapota* on the roof of a shrine.
Kappīya-bhūmi	An out-house site.
Kara hasta	Lit. a dark hand, a symbol.
Karaṇḍa makuṭa	A box-shaped crown on images.
Karṇa kūḍu	A pavilion on the *goṣṭapañjaram* or *caitya*-window.
Kaṭṭu-koḍagi	A cash payment of a fixed rent on lands of *kaṭṭu guttige*, *patra śāsana*, *kaṭṭu guttige piṇḍa dāna* (Cf. Rice, *Mysore Ins.*, p. 107, *E.C.*, VII, Sk 105, p. 78).
Keyūra	An armlet, also a wristlet.
Khaḍga	A sword, an emblem.
Khaṇḍuga	(cf. *Chaṇḍi*), weight, dry and fluid measure, which varied in different places (cf. *E.C.*, II, no. 402, p. 170).
Khāri	A dry measure.
Kiṅkiṇi	Little tinkling bells, an ornament, a small bell.
Kiṅkiṇi-jalaya	A net work of bells adorning a *vedika* (cf. *vedigai*) or marriage pandal.
Kirīṭa	A crown.
Kīrtimnkha	Lit. the face of fame-synonymous with *kīrti-vaktra*, *makara vakara*, *simha-mukha*, symbolic moulding of a crocodile, lion etc.
Koḍuṅgai	A cornice, a sloping roof.
Koḷaga	A measure of capacity varying in different places.
Kudam	Cf. *Kūḍu* below.
Kūḍu	Synonymous with *candra-śāla* or *caitya*-window.
Kukkuṭa-sarpa	A fowl serpent adorning the Jaina colossi like Gomaṭa.
Kullāyi	A tapering cap worn in Vijayanagara times.
Kumbha-pañjara	A flower pot pilaster appearing between two niches (*goṣṭapañjara*).

Kumudam	A white water lily moulding above the *upānaṁ* or the lowest plain moulding of the plinth (*adhiṣṭhāna*).
Kuṇḍala	An ear-ring of various types viz. *vṛtta kuṇḍala* (cf. infra).
Kuṭi	A small shrine.
Liṅga	The phallus symbol of Śiva, either plain or faceted with five or more faces.
Madalai	A part of a corbel.
Madana	The Indian Cupid, a deity.
Madana-kai	The Hand of Madana seen invariably in *Sati* sculptures.
Makara	A conventional crocodile.
Makara-toraṇa	An arch issuing from either two *makaras* and often crowned by a full-faced *makara* or *makari* or an arch marked with a conventional crocodile.
Makuṭa	A crown, usually seen on images of deities.
Mānastaṁbha	Lit. a pillar of honour, a pillar often noticed in Jaina shrines (*bastis*) like the *Dīpa māle* in Hindu temples.
Maṇḍapam	A pavilion in temples cf. *mukha* and *ardha maṇḍapa.*
Mekhalā	A waist belt cf. *kaṭi sūtra* or *kaṭi baṅdha.*
Mukha-maṇḍapa	A frontal verandah in shrines.
Munai	A lotus capital below the square partitions of a pillar (*saduram*).
Mūṣika	A rat, a vehicle of the deity Gaṇeśa.
Nāgabaṅdha	A snake hood moulding peeping through the four corners of the *saduram*, also a perforated window with a design of entwined serpents (*nāga*).
Nānudāl	A part of a corbel.
Navaraṅga	A new assembly hall.
Pāda-jalaka	A foot jewel ornament found in images (cf. *pāda-jala*).
Padmam	A lotus moulding.
Pādabaṅdha	An early type of *adhiṣṭhāna* (plinth).
Palagai	The slab above the lotus capital (*munai*).
Pañjara	Lit. a cage, an attic or dormer window, (cf. *goṣṭa-pañjara*).
Pāśa	A noose, an emblem seen in Hindu imagery of deities.
Paṭṭam	A waist-belt (cf. *vīra paṭṭa*—a hero's belt, a symbol of honour).
Paṭṭikā	An oblong type of pedestal (cf. *piṭṭikā*—a pedestal).
Pīṭha	A pedestal.
Piṭṭam	A strap-like ornament on a pillar.
Prabhā-maṇḍala	An orb of glory, an ornament behind deities in Hindu imagery.
Pradakṣiṇa	A circumambulatory passage round the sanctum (*garbhagṛha*).
Prākāra	A courtyard.
Prāsāda	A three-storeyed palace.
Prastara	An entablature.
Pumunai	A part of a corbel, a double lotus bud of a pillar capital.

Puṣpaboḍigai	A flower ornamented abacus.
Saduram	The square partitions into which a pillar was cut or incised, comprising of three cubical parts; also known as the *aśva-pāda* or a horse's foot pedestal.
Śakti	Lit. power, symbolised in the feminine embodiment of deities.
Śikhara	A tower of a temple, a finial.
Stūpikā	The dome of a palace.
Sukhanāsi	A small room in front of the idol in a temple (*E.C.*, V, Bl 52).
Śūla	A trident, an emblem in Hindu sculpture.
Taṁbūra	A musical stringed instrument.
Toraṇa	The jambs on a temple gateway, a halo.
Ubapīṭam	(Cf. *upapīṭam*, infra), a moulding below the plinth (*adhiṣṭhāna*).
Upagrīva	A *rudrākṣa*-beaded necklace.
Upānam	The lowest plain moulding of the plinth (*adhiṣṭhāna*).
Upapīṭham	Cf. *Ubapīṭam* ante.
Vadi	A parapet covering the plinth.
Valaya	An armlet.
Vārimārga	A conduit for the outflow of water in a shrine.
Vedi, Vedikā	A marriage pavilion.
Vedigai	A moulding above the *kaṅdam* or plain corbel.
Veṭṭi	Cf. *Veṣṭhi*, a dhoti.
Vimāna	A tower over the sanctum (*garbhagṛha*).
Vīṇā	A musical instrument associated with certain deities.
Vīragal (*kallu*)	A hero-stone (cf. *sati kallu* or a *sati* stone).
Vīrapaṭṭa	A hero's belt cf. *paṭṭa* ante.
Vṛtta-kuṇḍalā	A plantain tree flower-shaped ear-ring.
Yajñopavīta	The sacred thread of Brhamanhood.
Yālam	The space between the *Karṇa-kūḍu* (*caitya*-window) and the roof *koḍuṅgai*).

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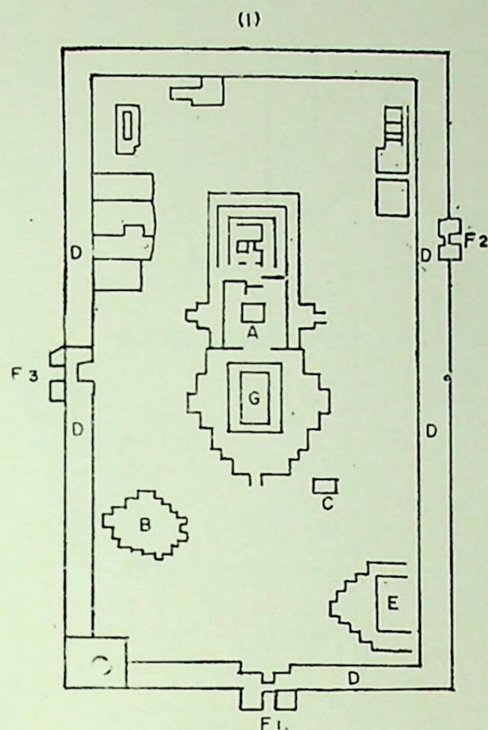
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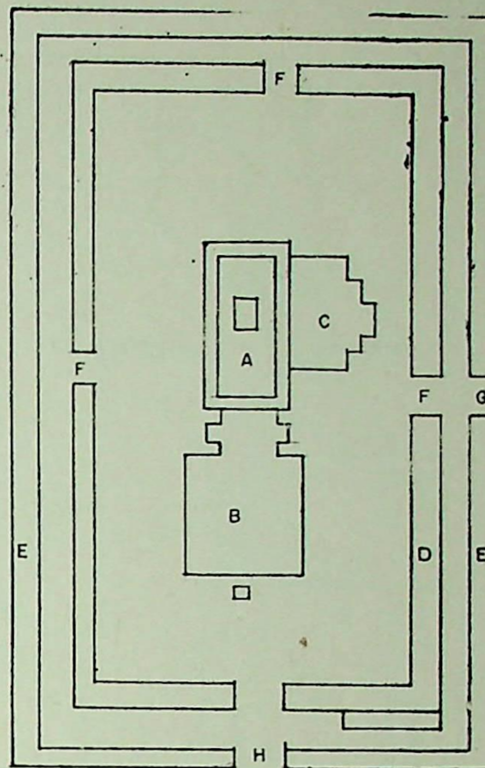
GROUND PLANS

(1)



VITTHALA SVĀMI TEMPLE

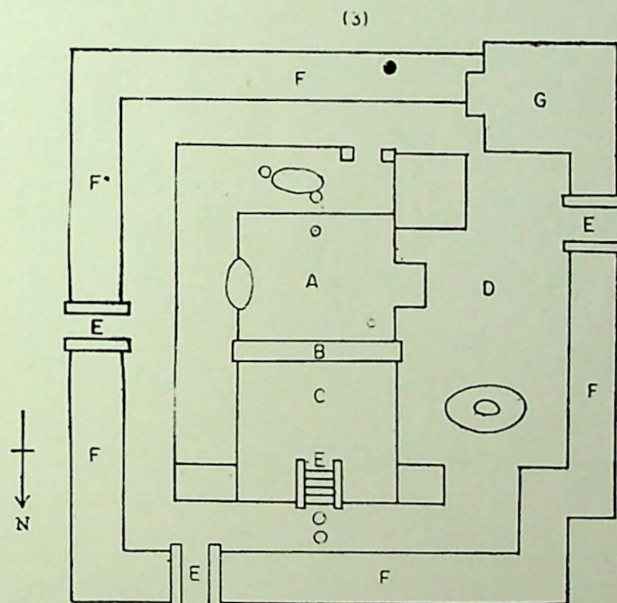
A. MAIN SHRINE
B. KALYĀṆA MAṆṬAPA
C. THE STONE CAR
D. CORRIDORS
E. KALYĀṆA MAṆṬAPA
F1. MAIN ENTRANCE
F2-3 SIDE ENTRANCES



ACYUTA RĀYA TEMPLE

A. MAIN SHRINE
B. MUKHA MAṆḌAPA
C. AMMAN SHRINE
D. CORRIDORS OF THE INNER PRĀKĀRA
E. " " OUTER "
F. ENTRANCE OF THE INNER COURTYABD
G. " " OUTER "
H MAIN ENTRANCE

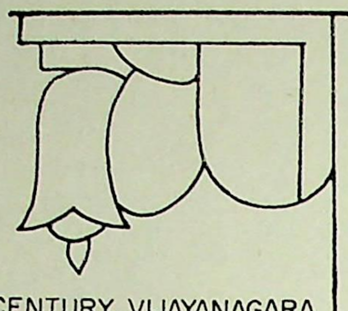
(3)

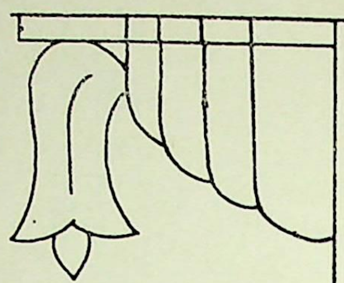


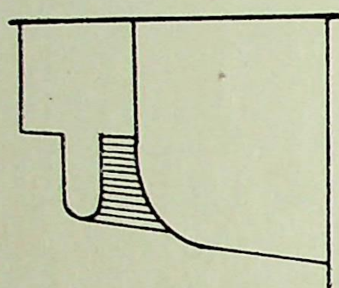
LEPĀKṢI TEMPLE

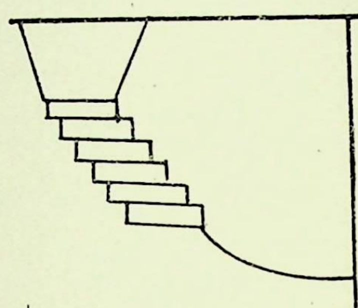
A MAIN SHRINE
B ARDHA-MAṆḌAPA
C MUKHA MAṆḌAPA
D POND
E ENTRACE
F PRADAKSIṆA
G 1st MAṆḌAPA

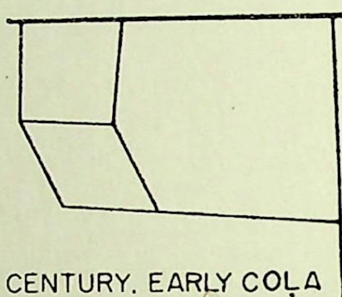
Figure 1

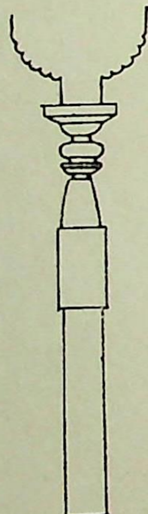

16th CENTURY. VIJAYANAGARA


17th CENTURY. VIJAYANAGARA


11th CENTURY. LATER COḶA


7th CENTURY. PALLAVA


11th CENTURY. EARLY COḶA


7th CENTURY. PALLAVA

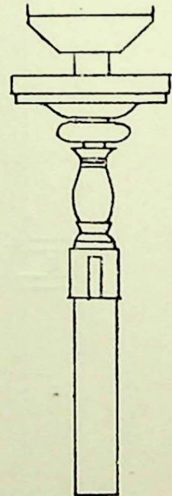

11th CENTURY. COḶA

Figure 2



ATTENDANT DONORS – VĪRAṆṆA RŪPAṆṆA

RAṄGA MAHAL, LEPĀKṢI

Figure 3



MAIDS ATTENDING PĀRVATĪ, RAṄGA MAṆṬAPA, LEPĀKṢI

Figure 4



LADIES-RAṄGA MAṆṬAPA
LEPĀKSI

Figure 5

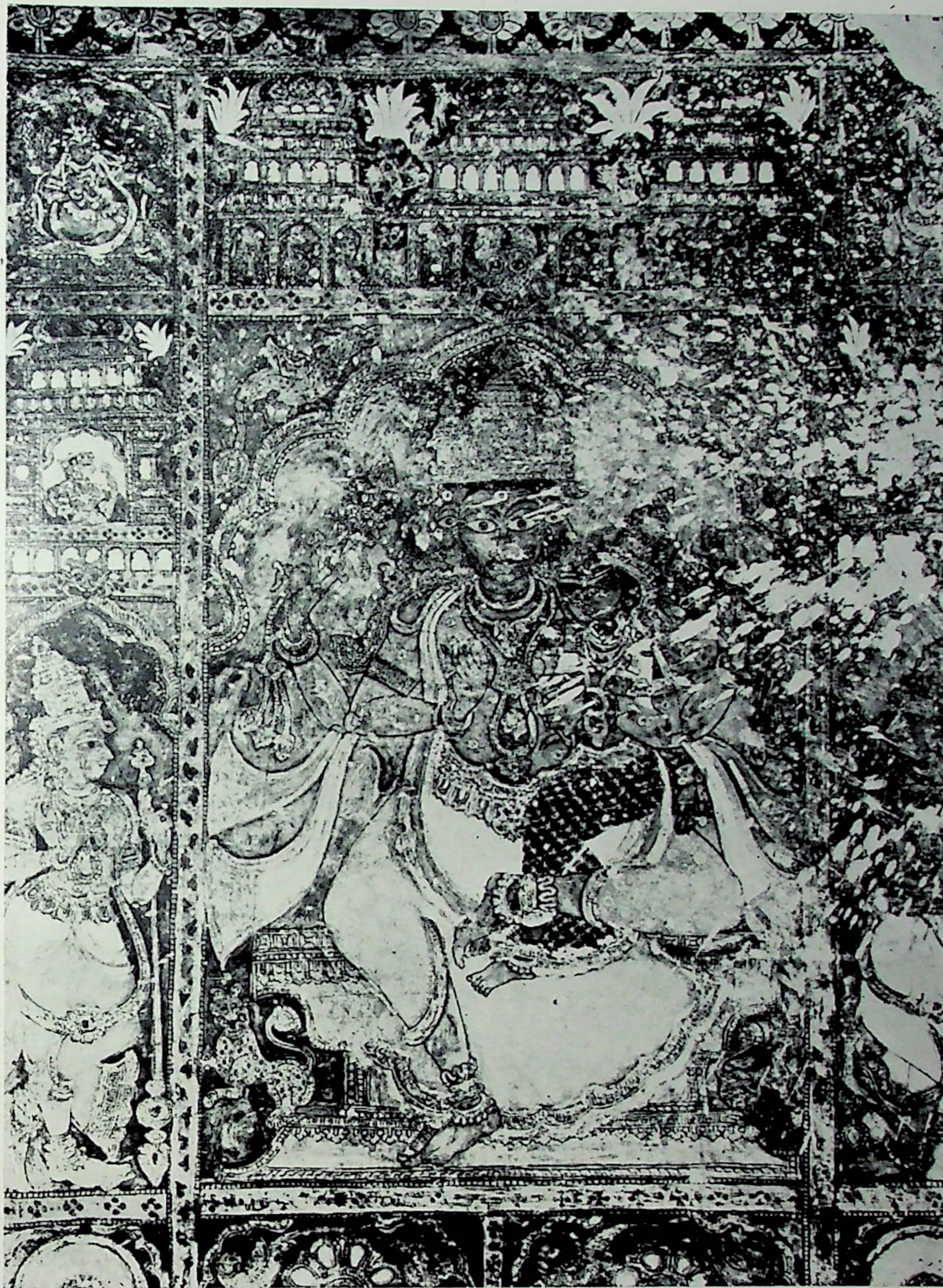


TOILET: ON A PILLAR OF THE KALYĀṆA MAṆṬAPA

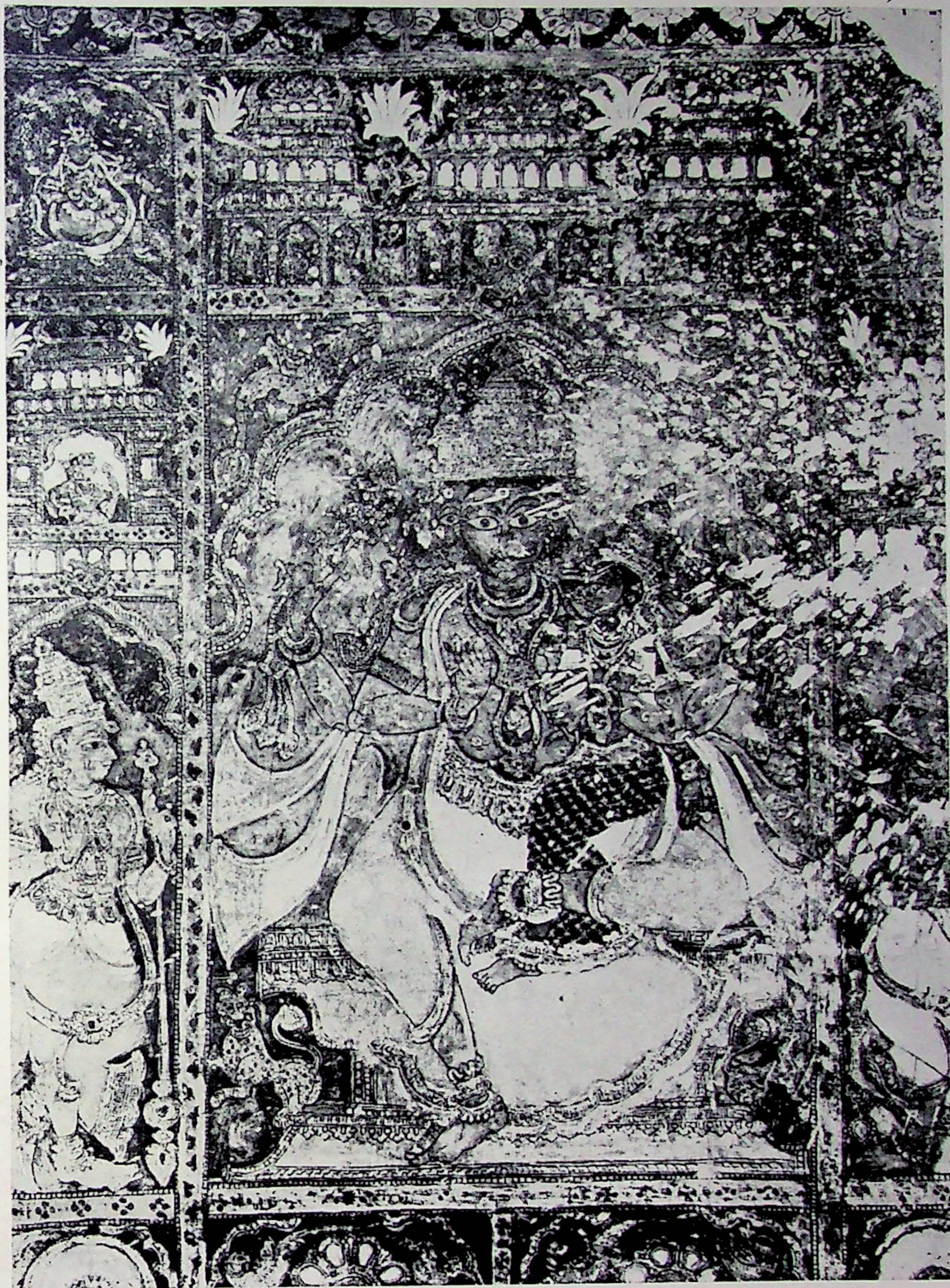
Figure 6



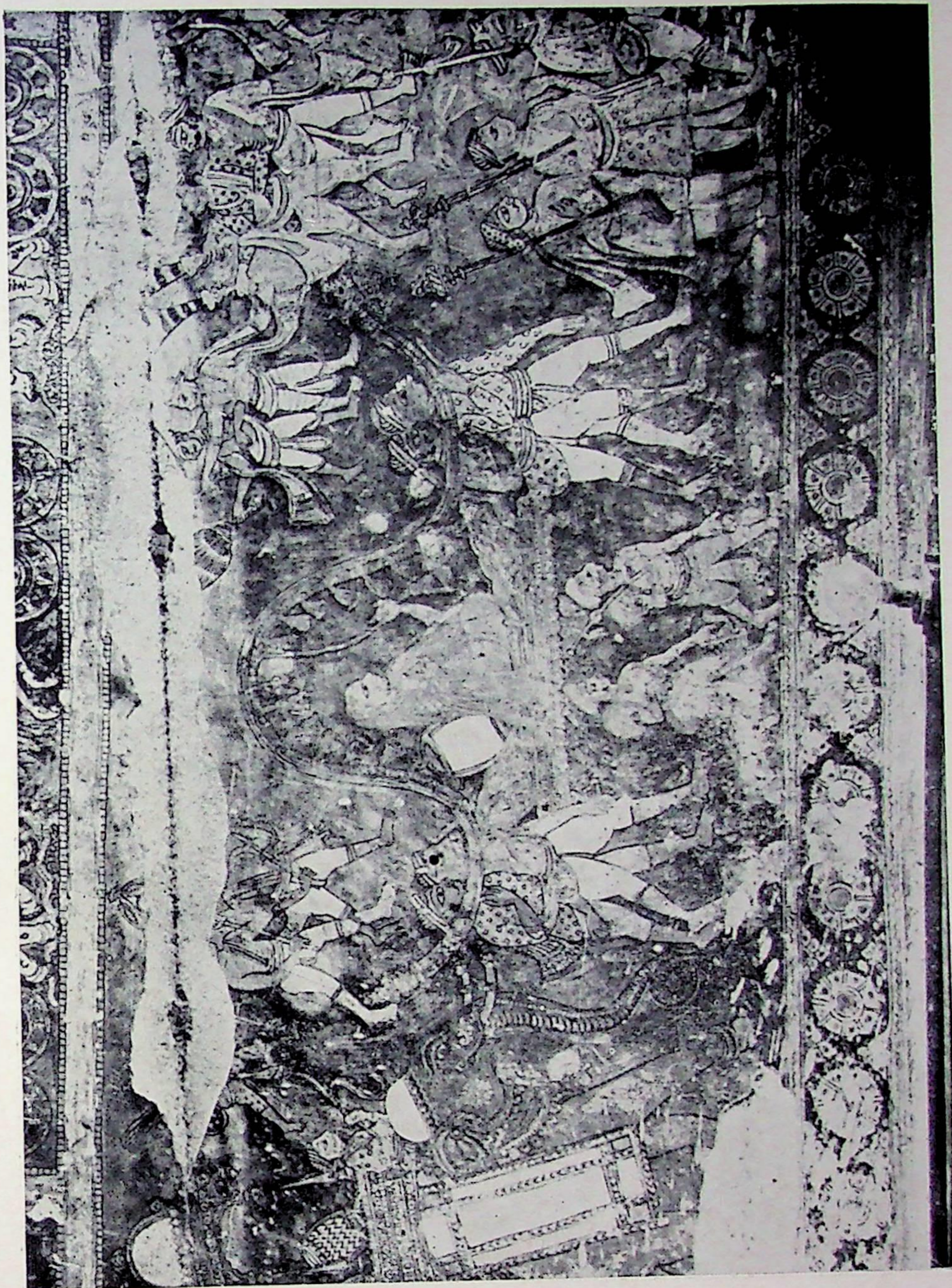


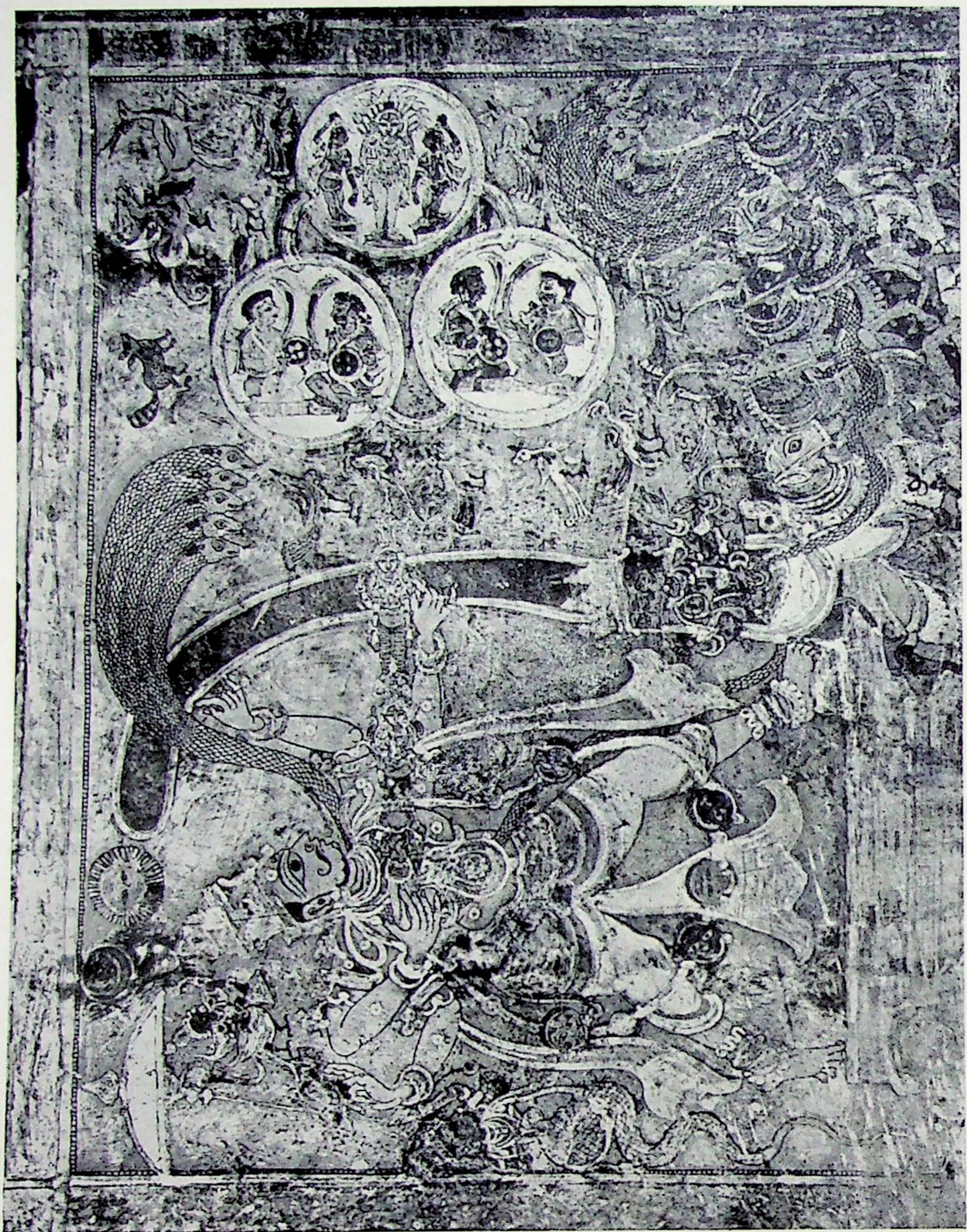




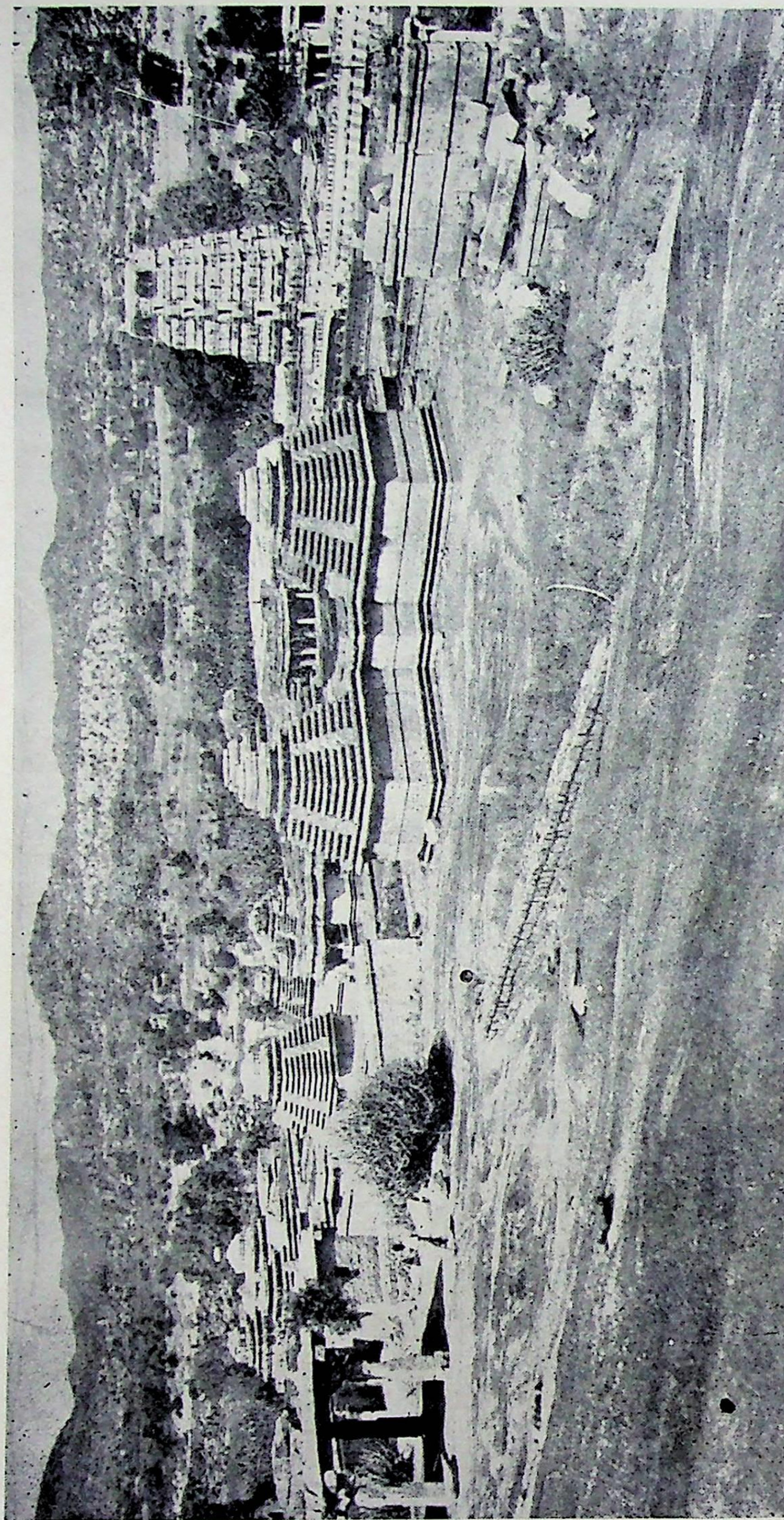




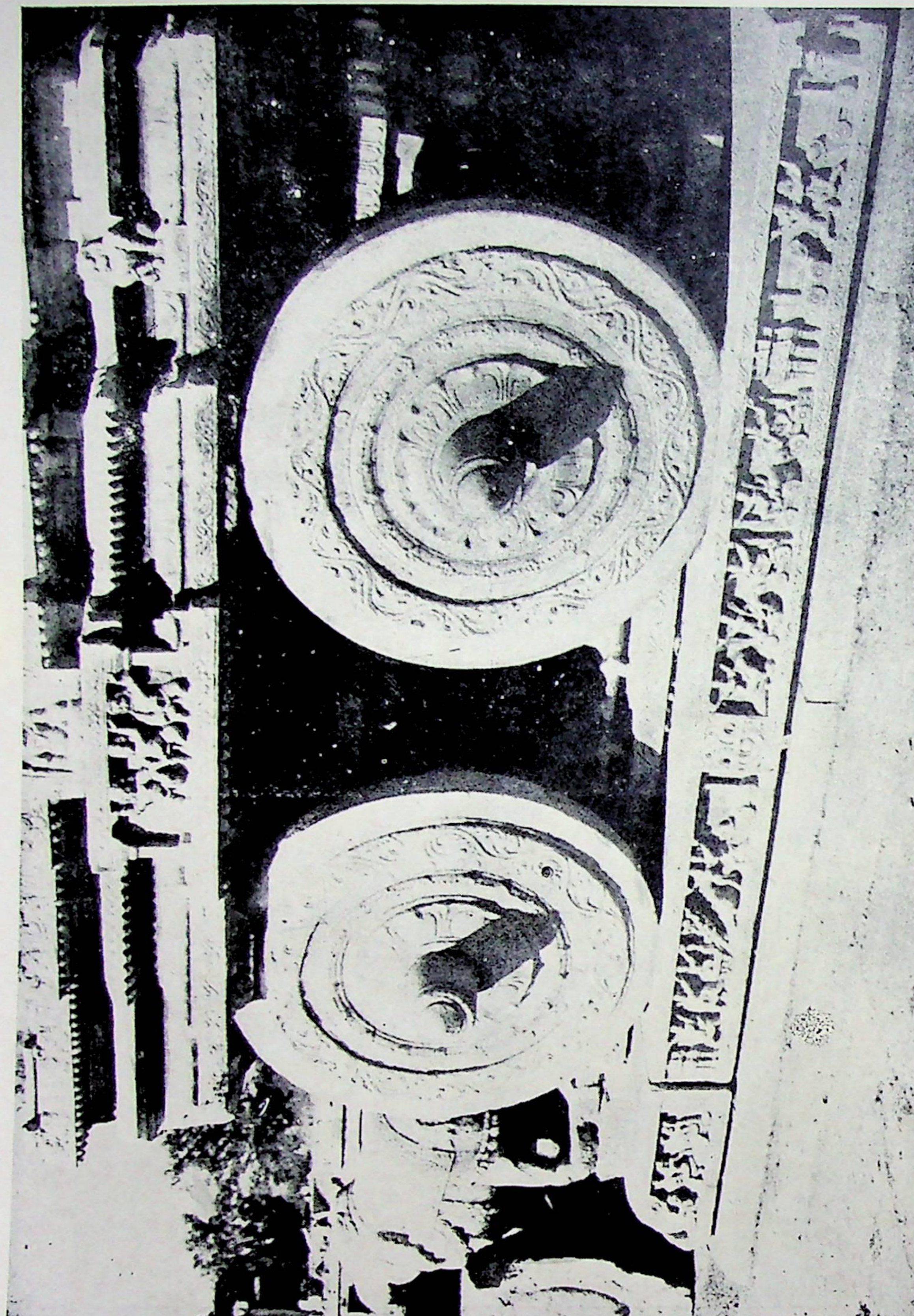




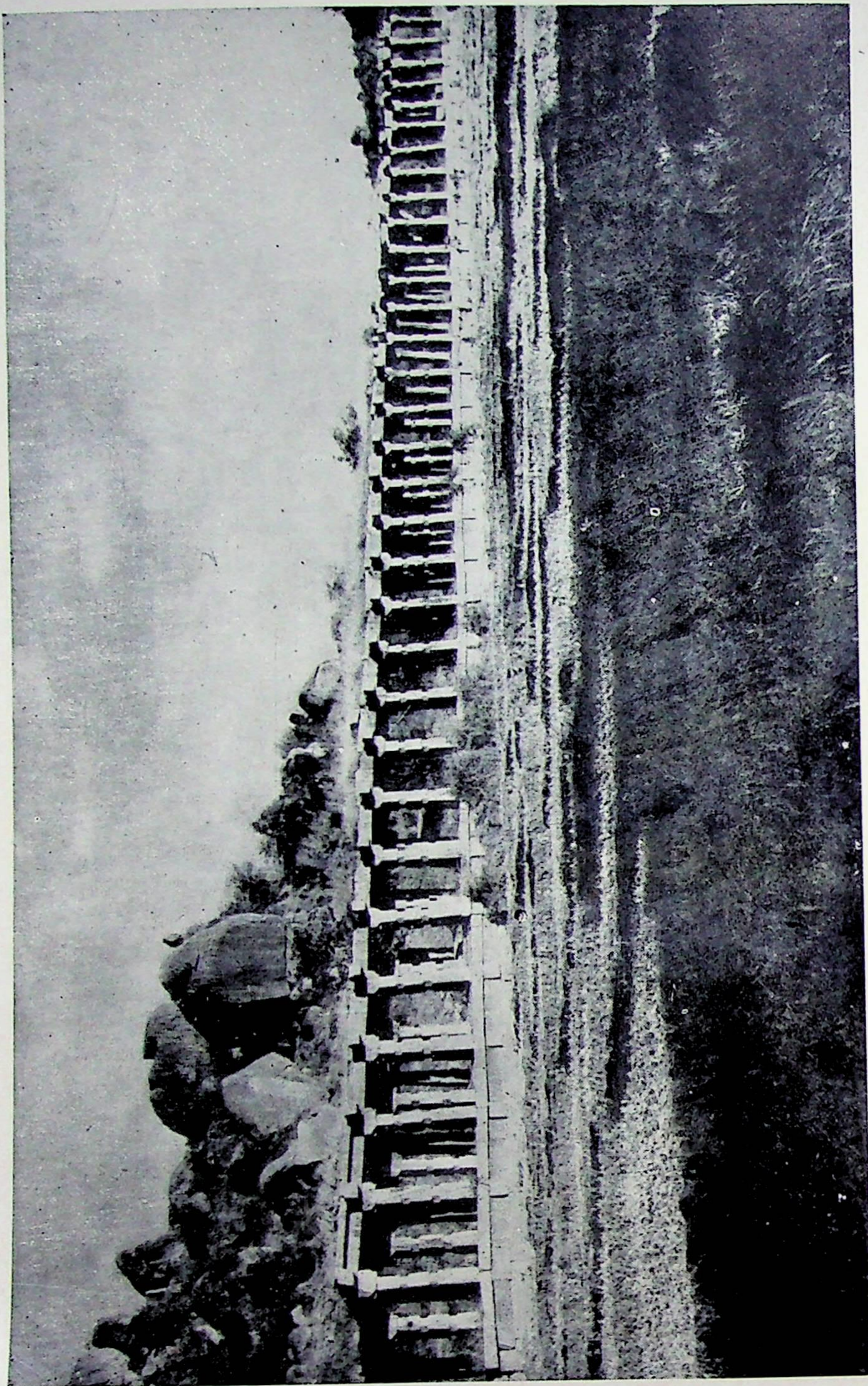




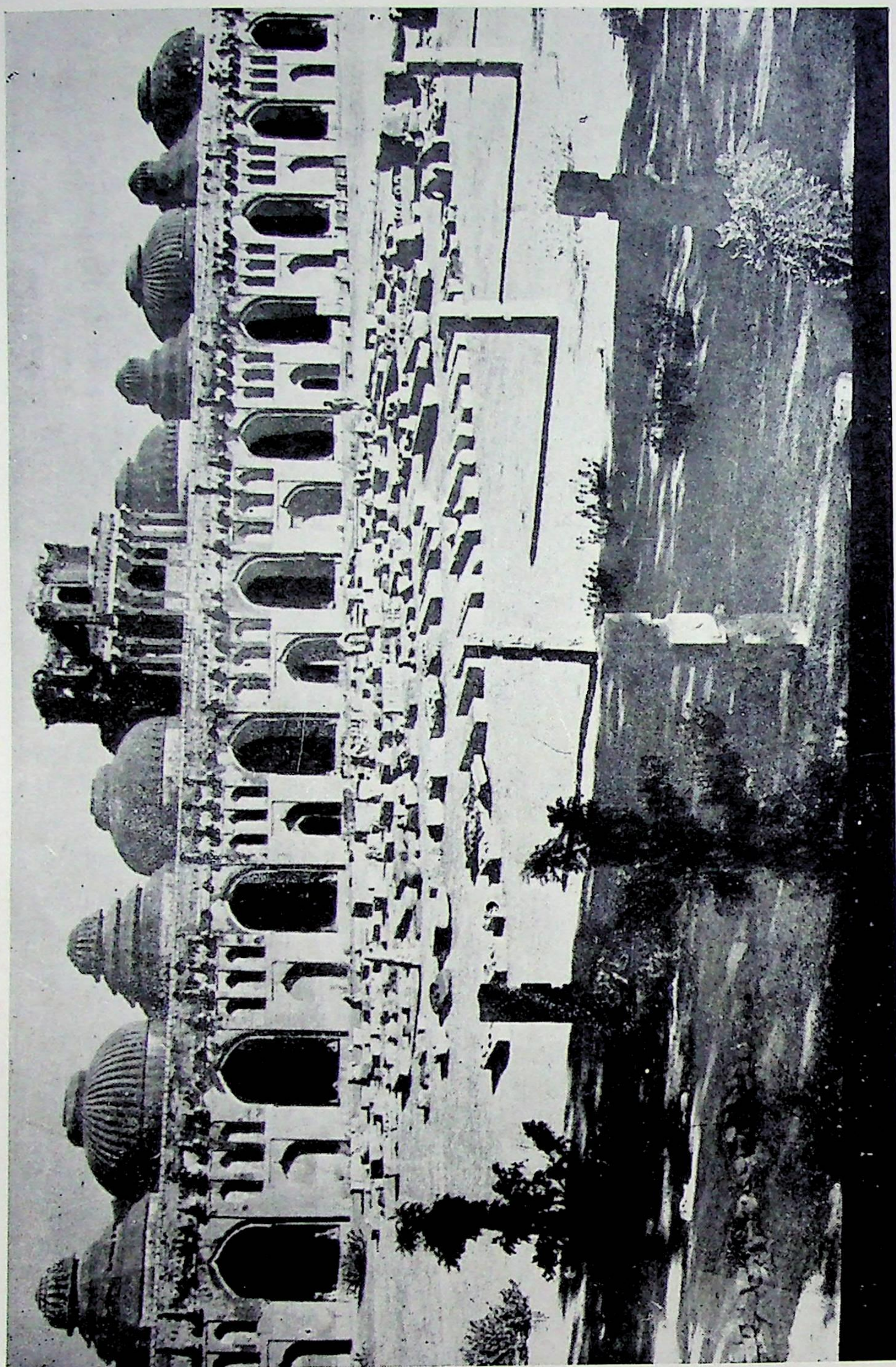




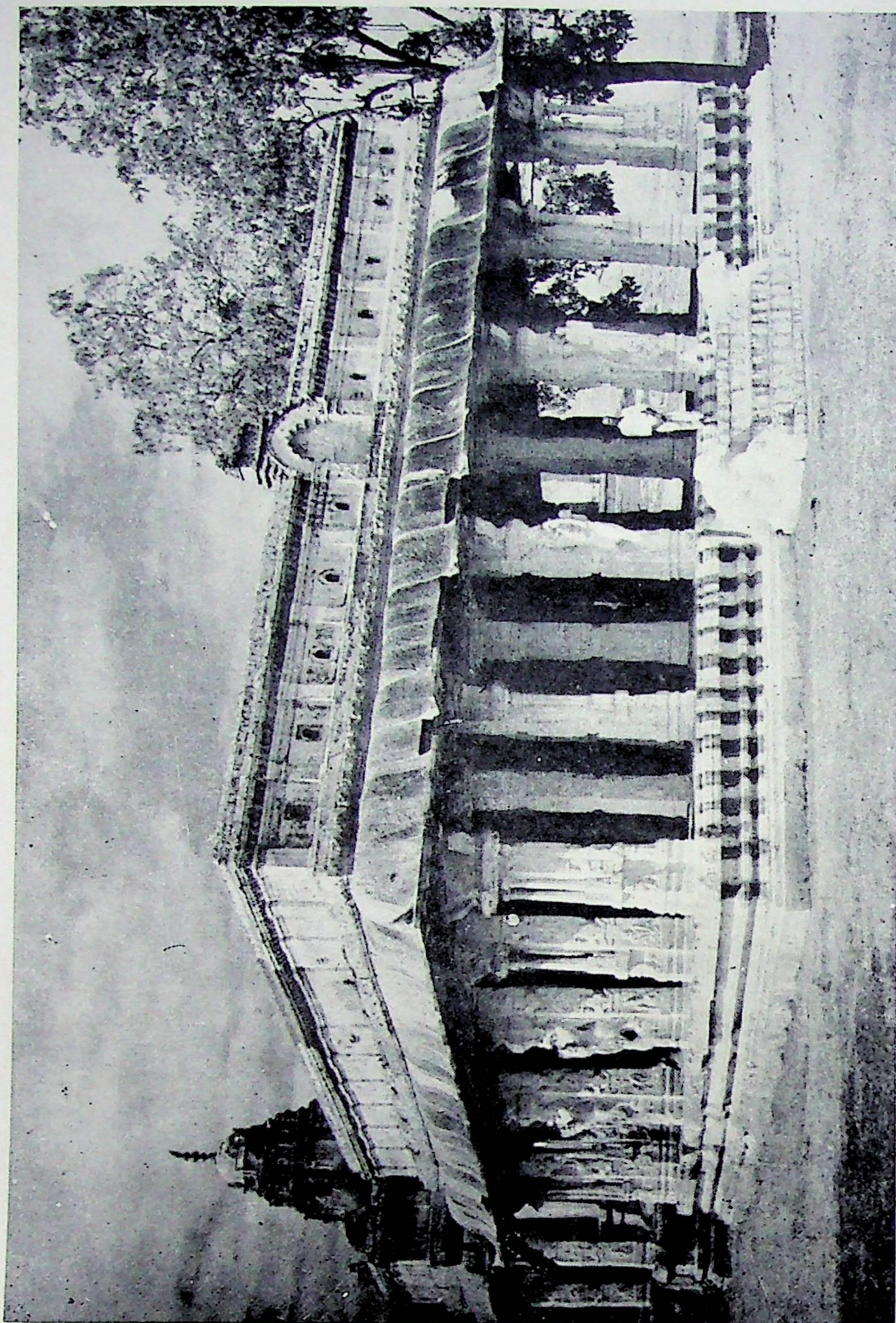








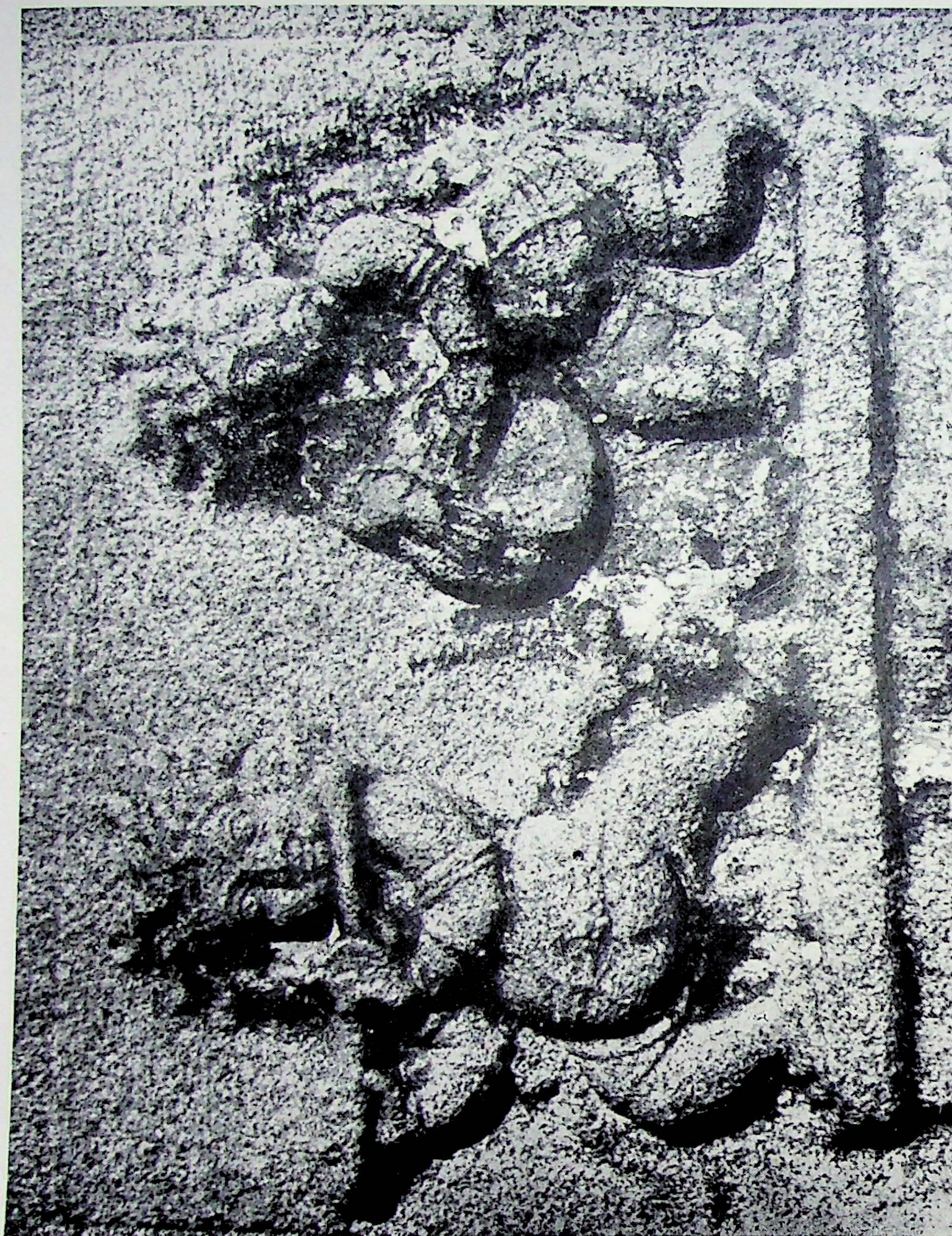


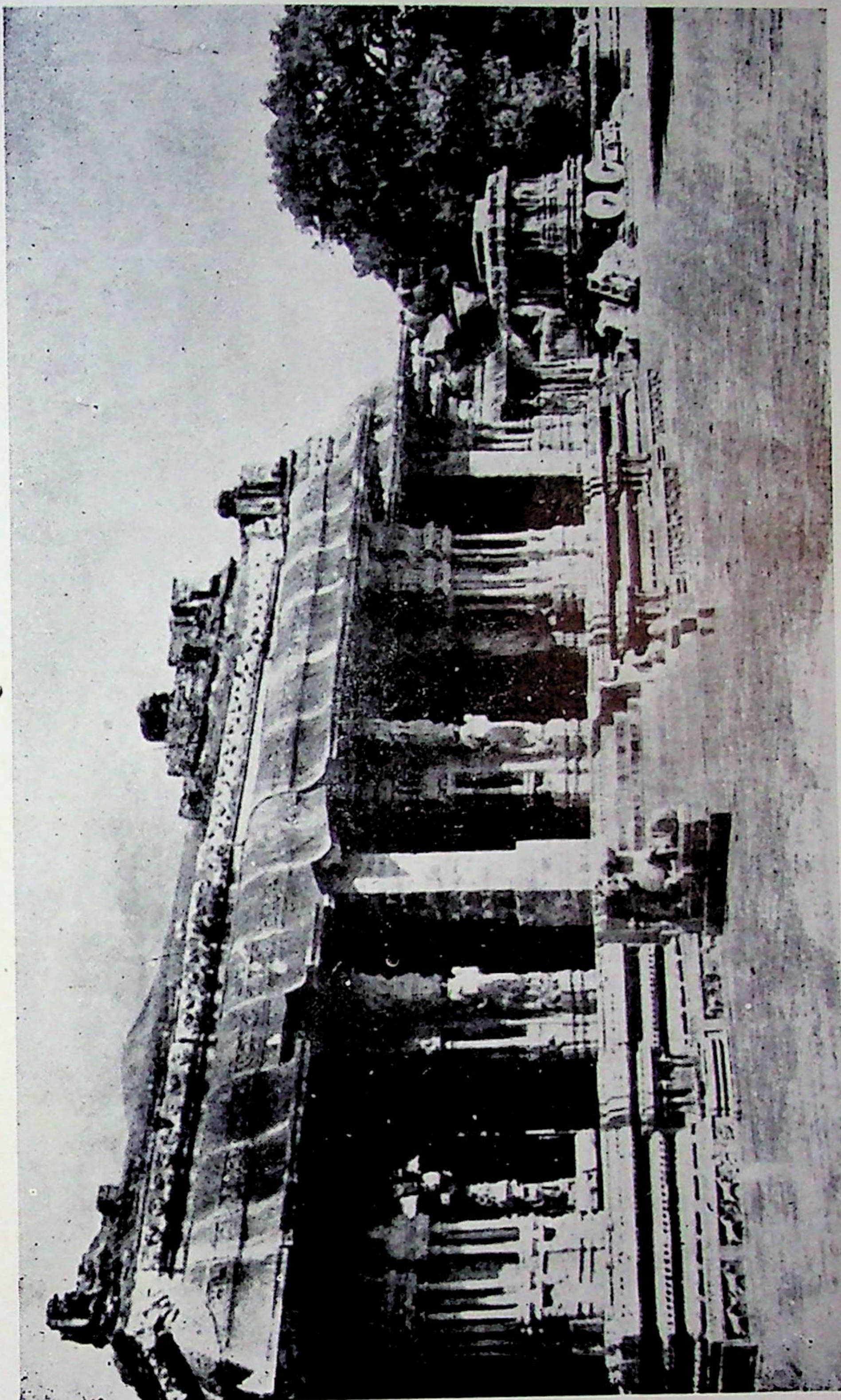




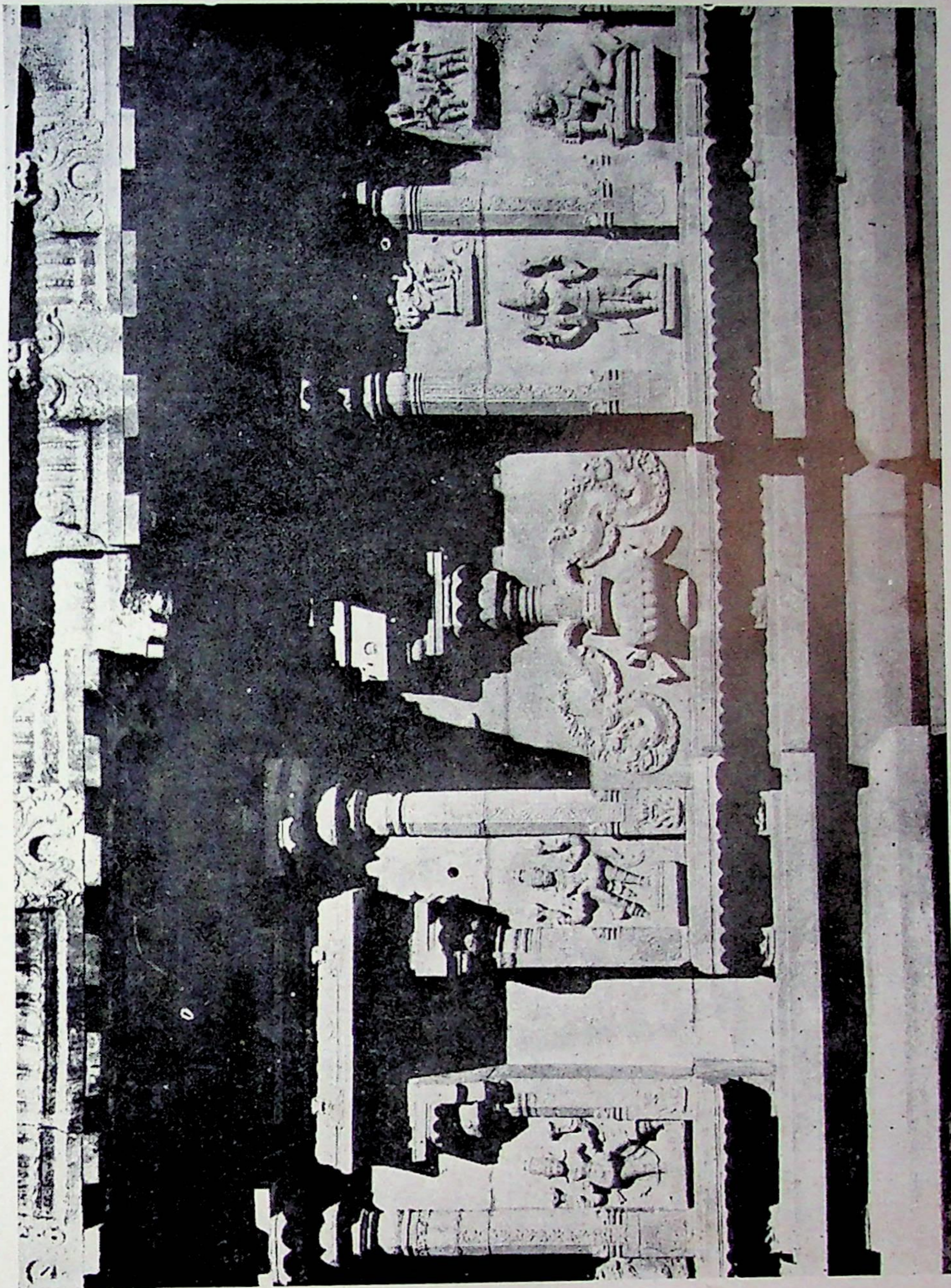




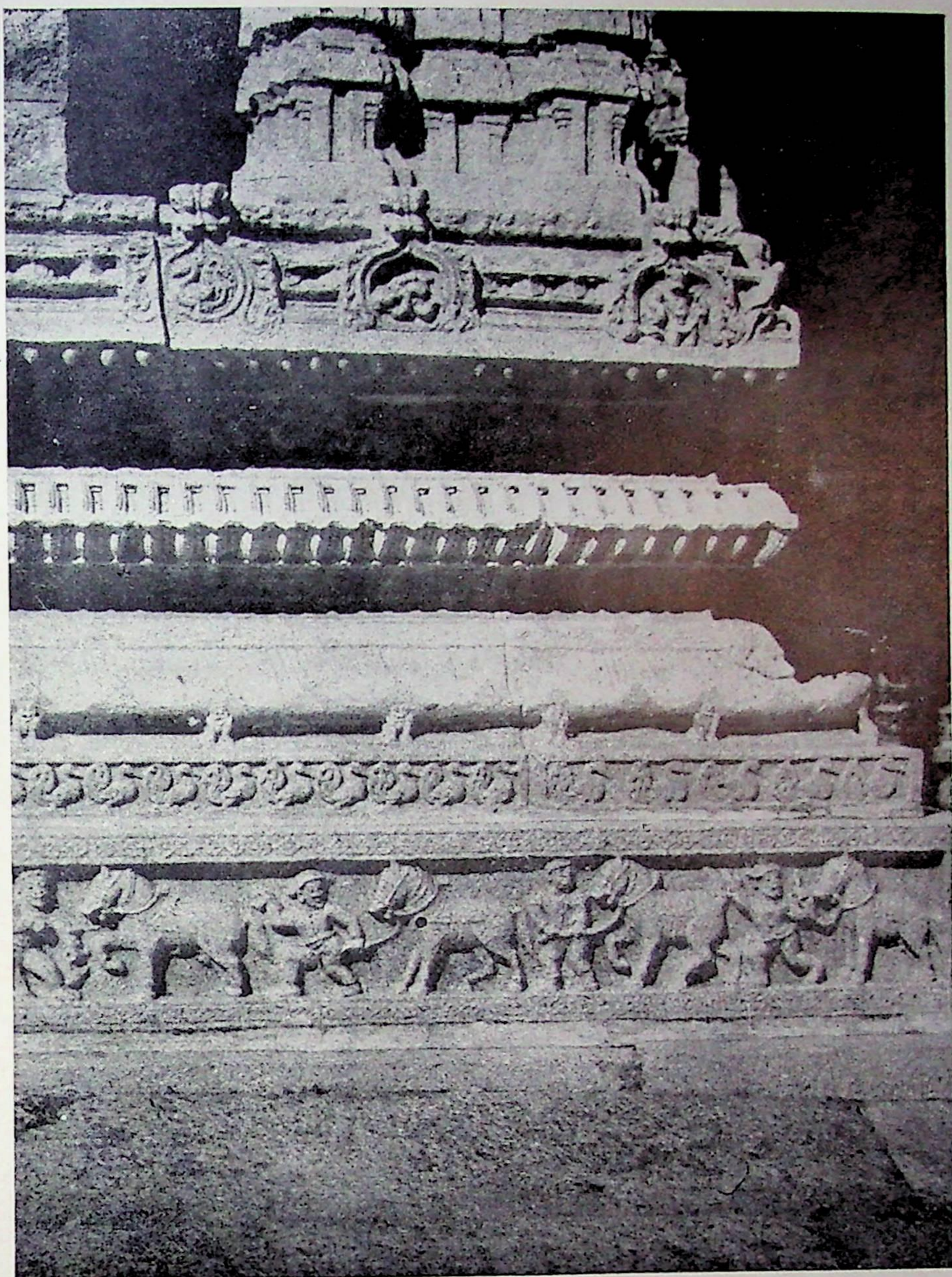


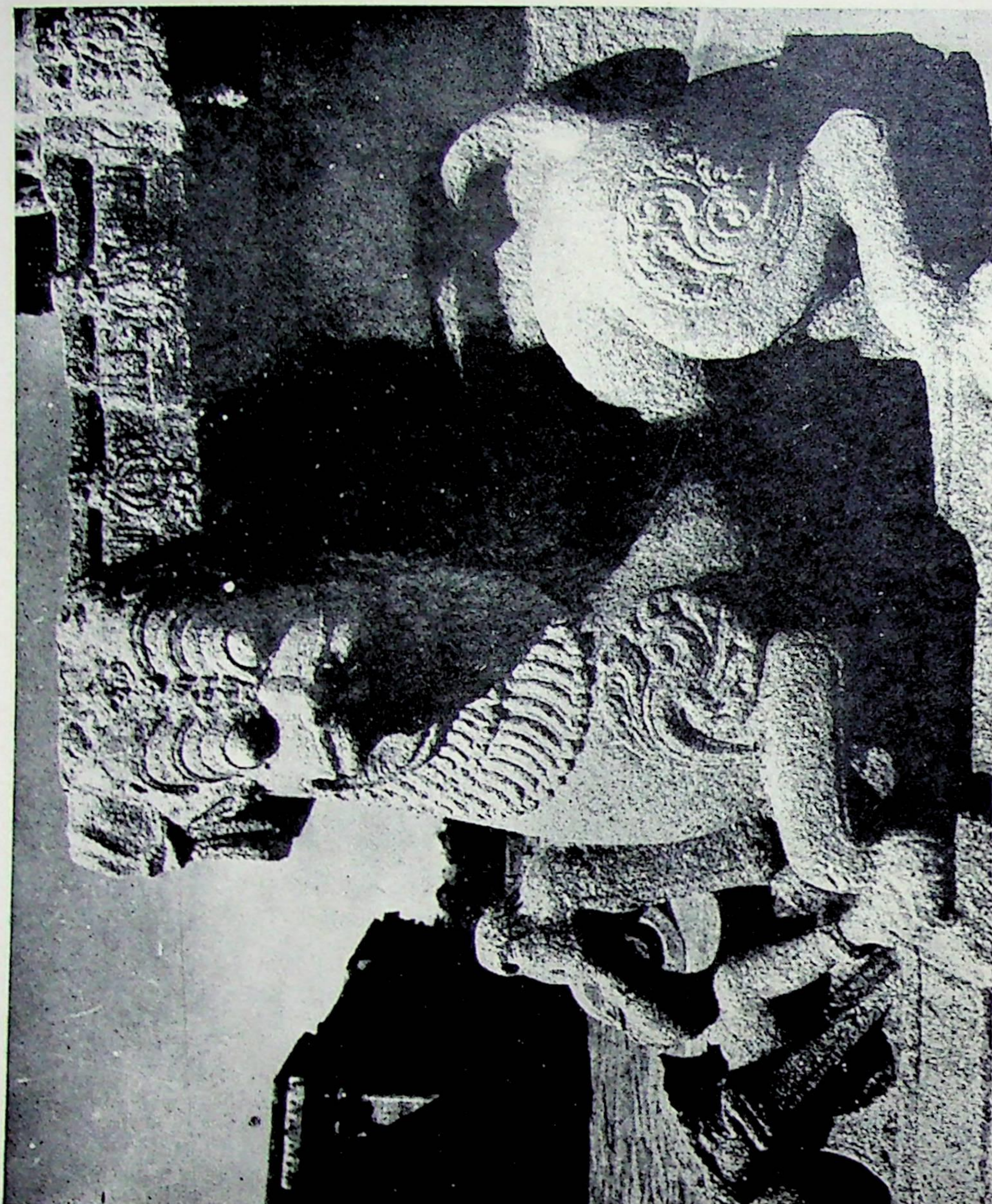


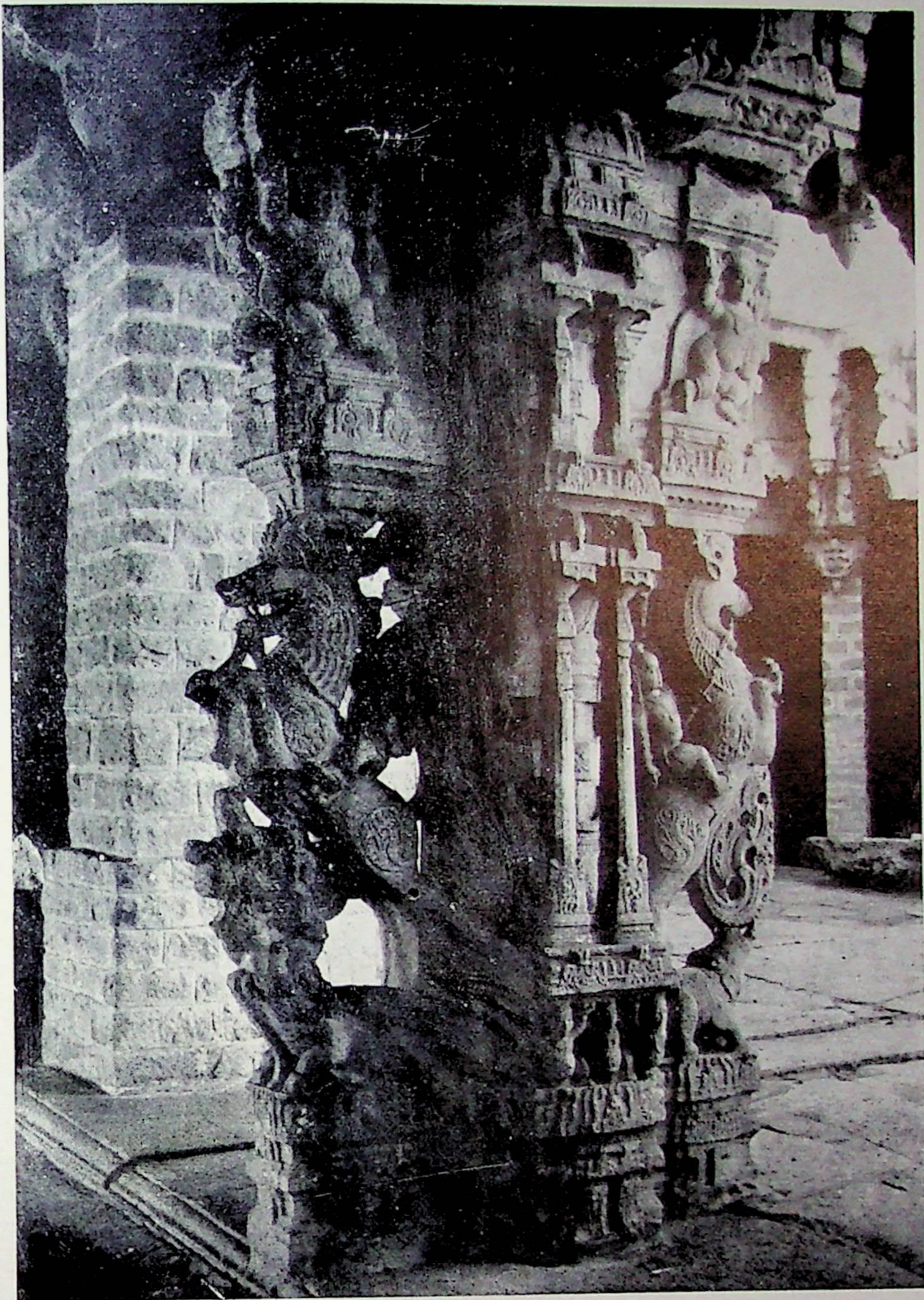








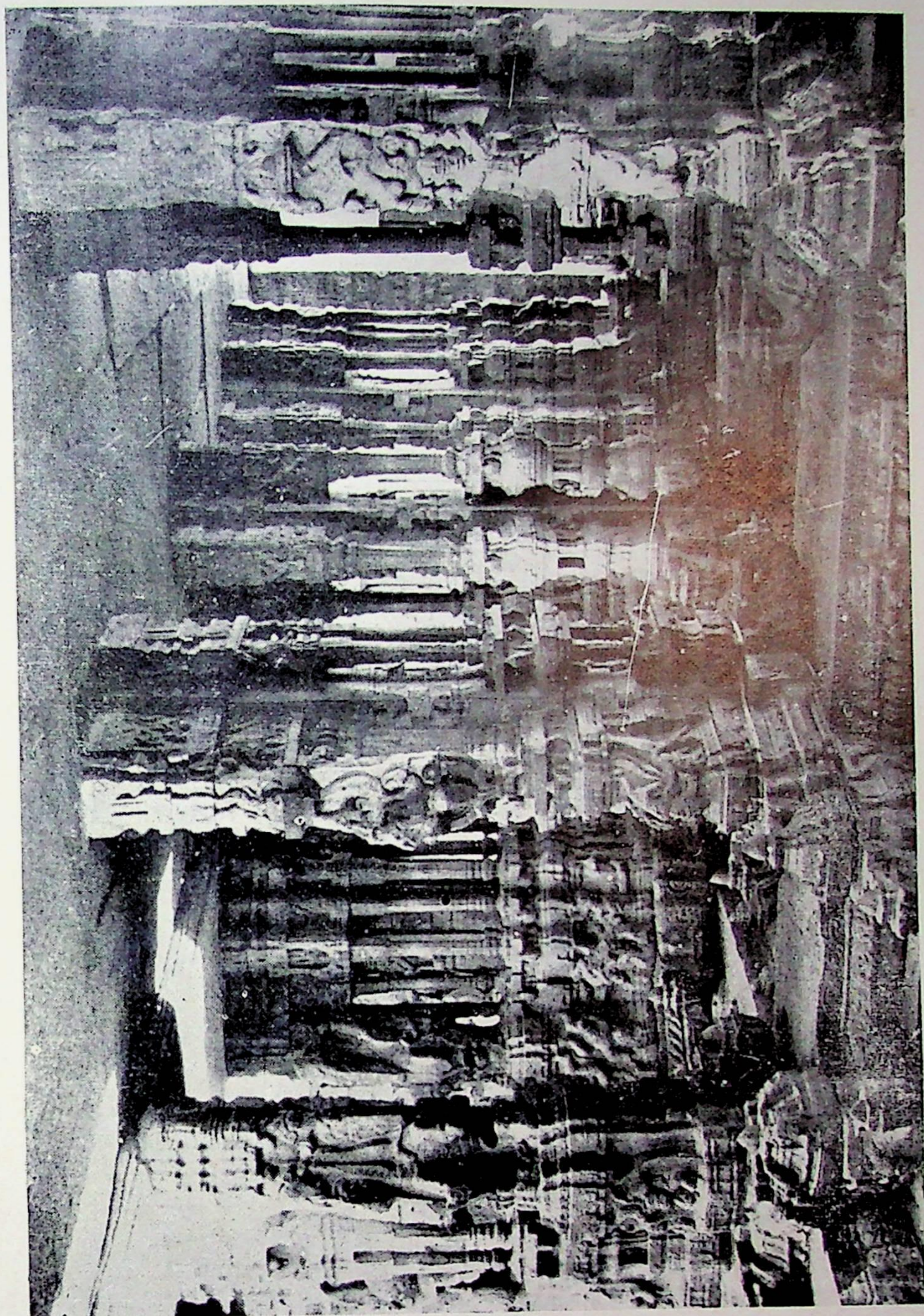




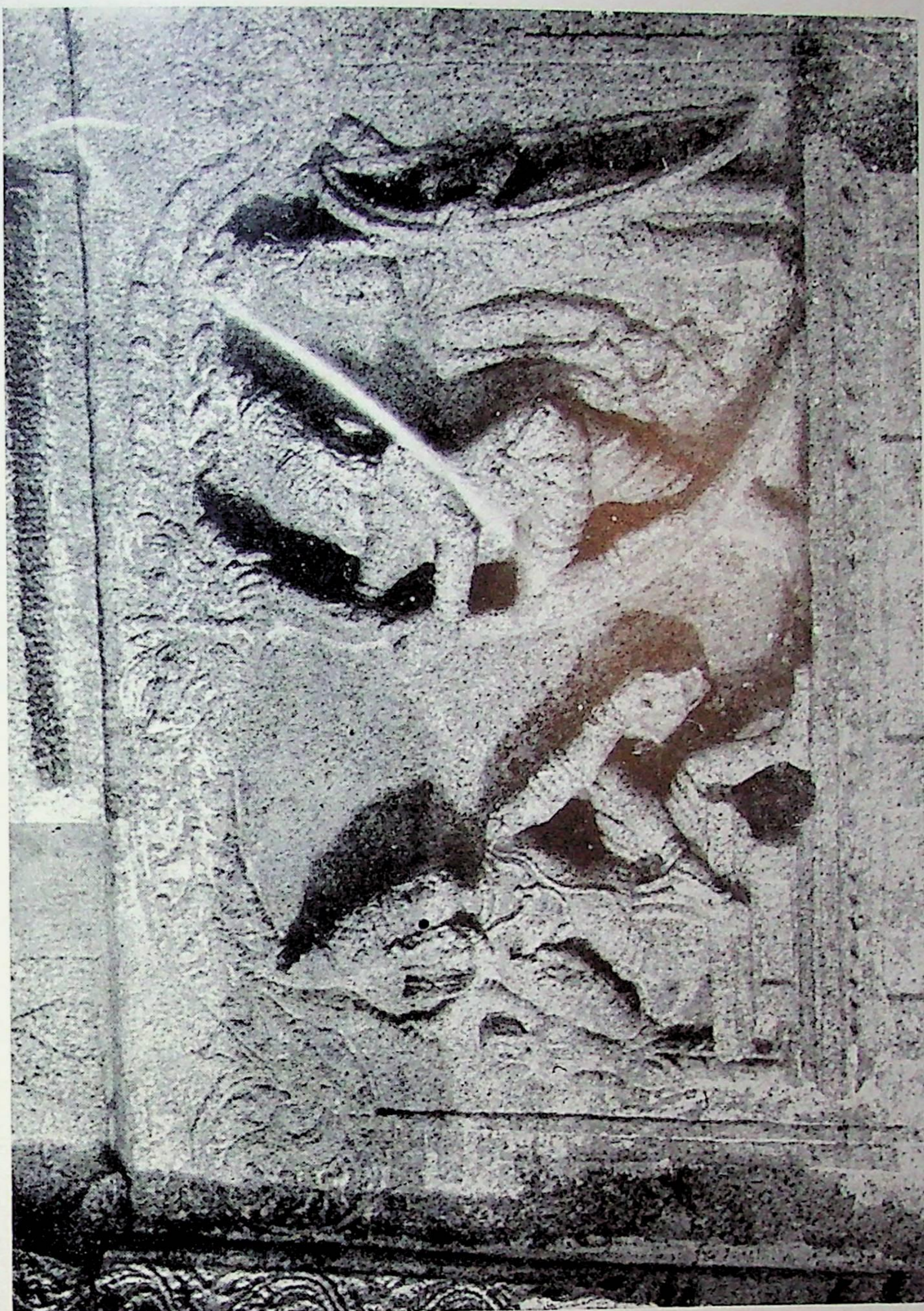




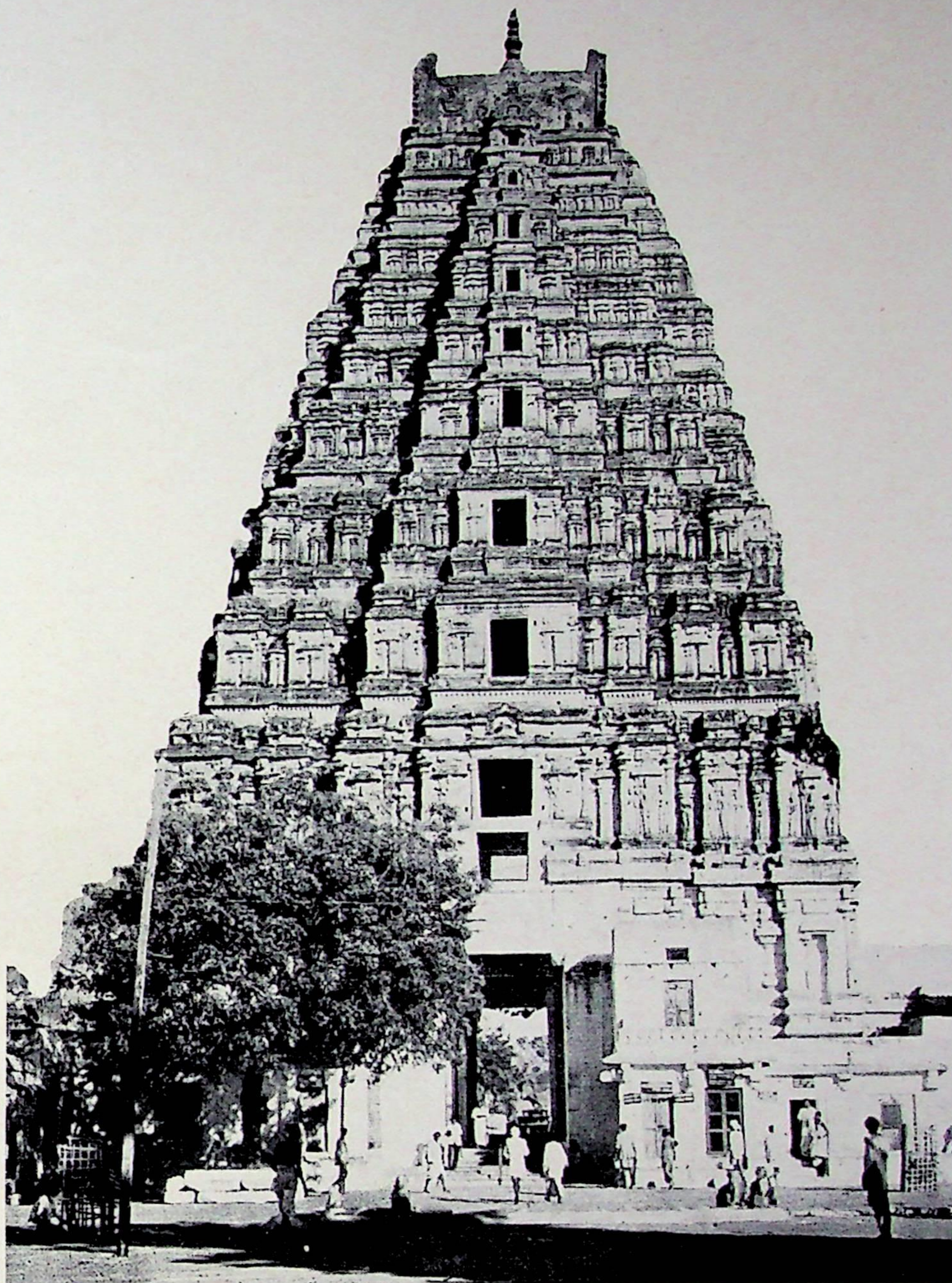


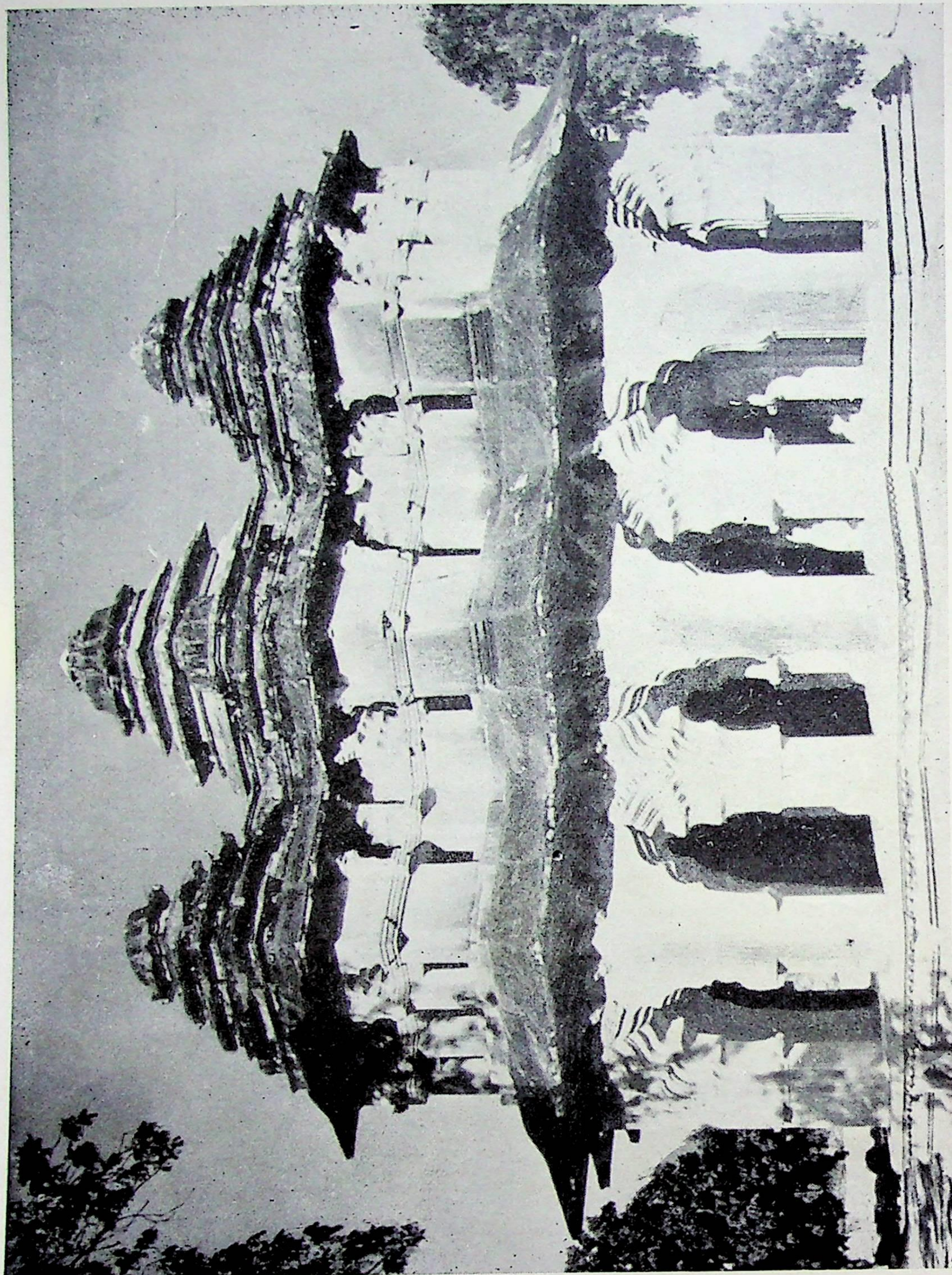


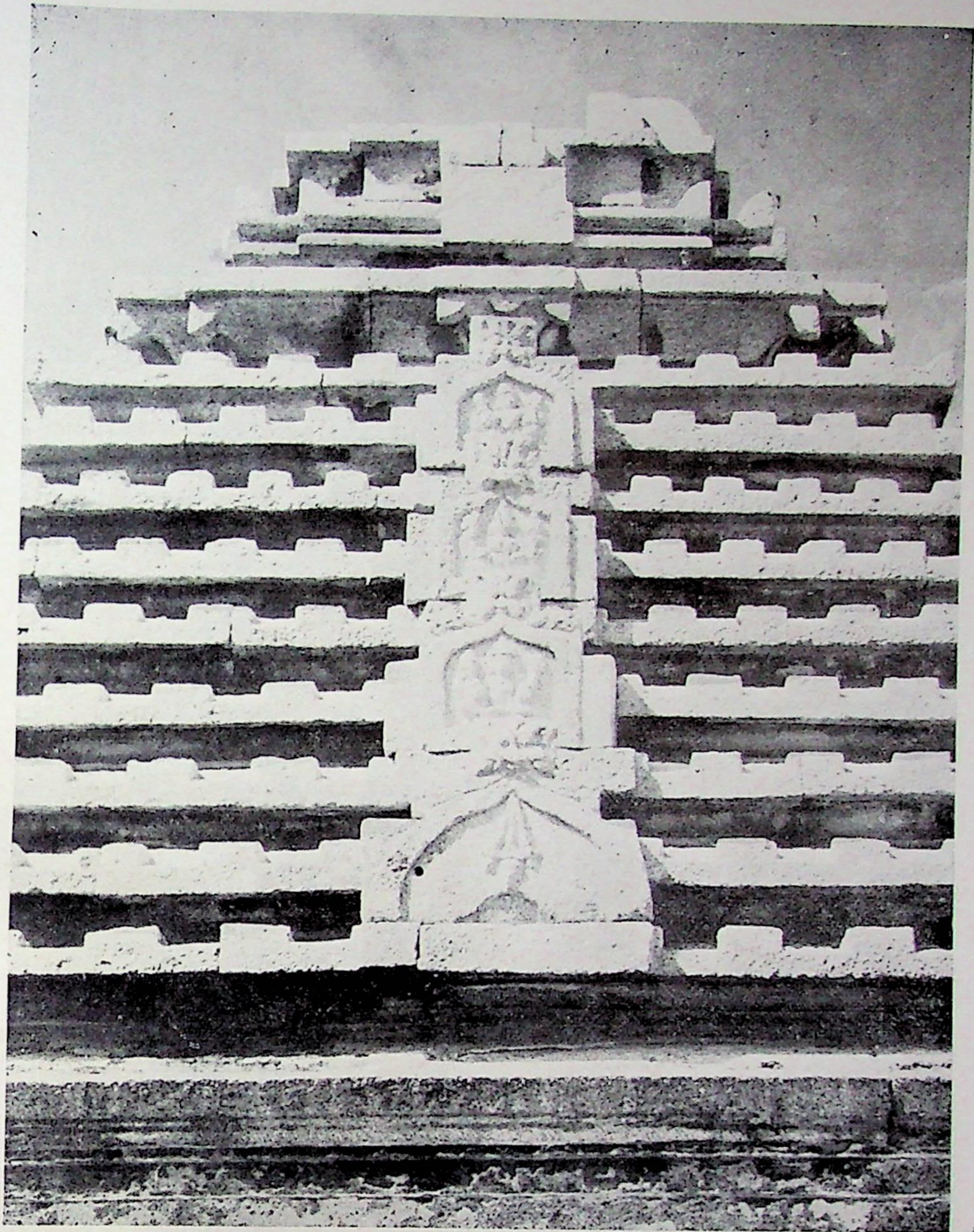






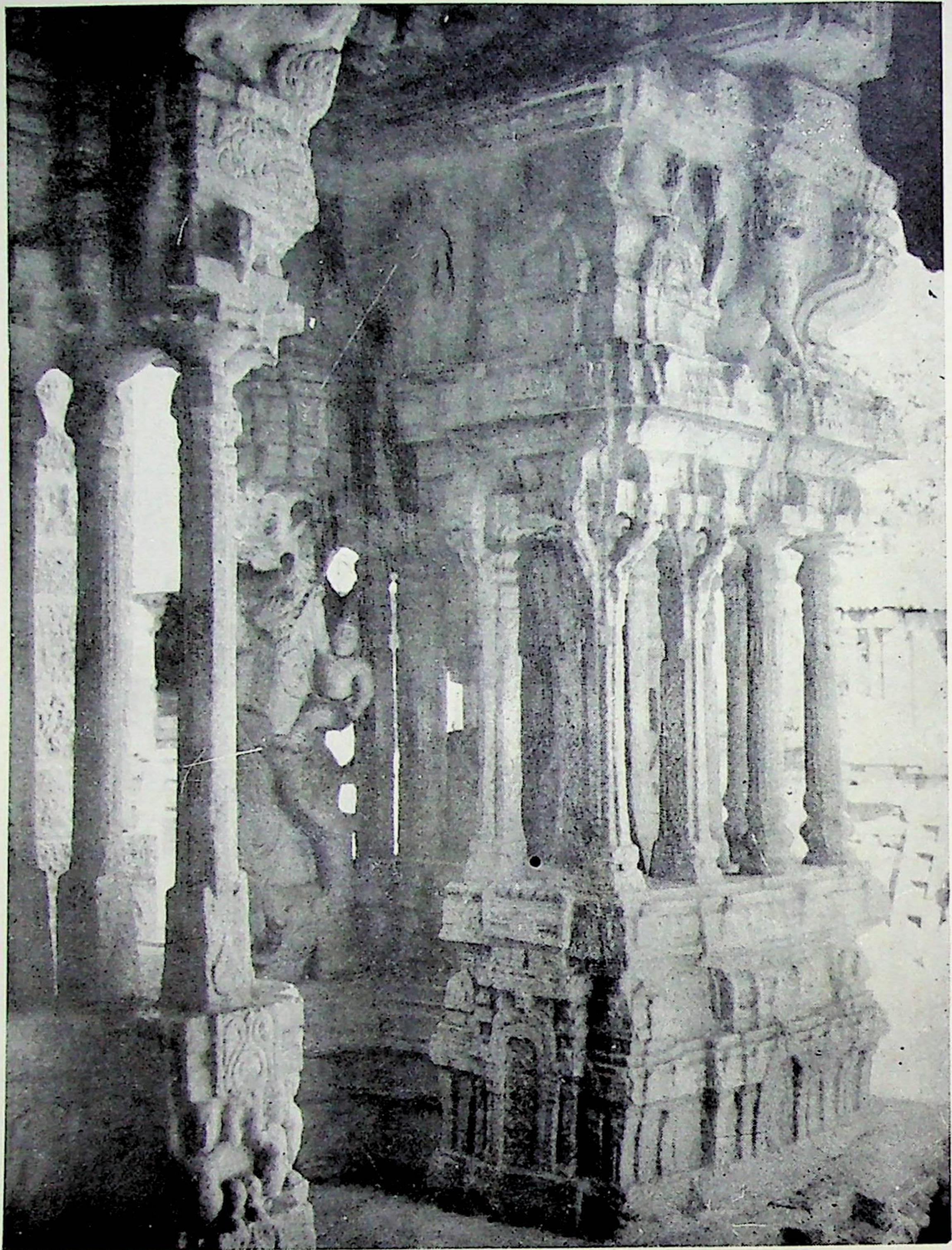




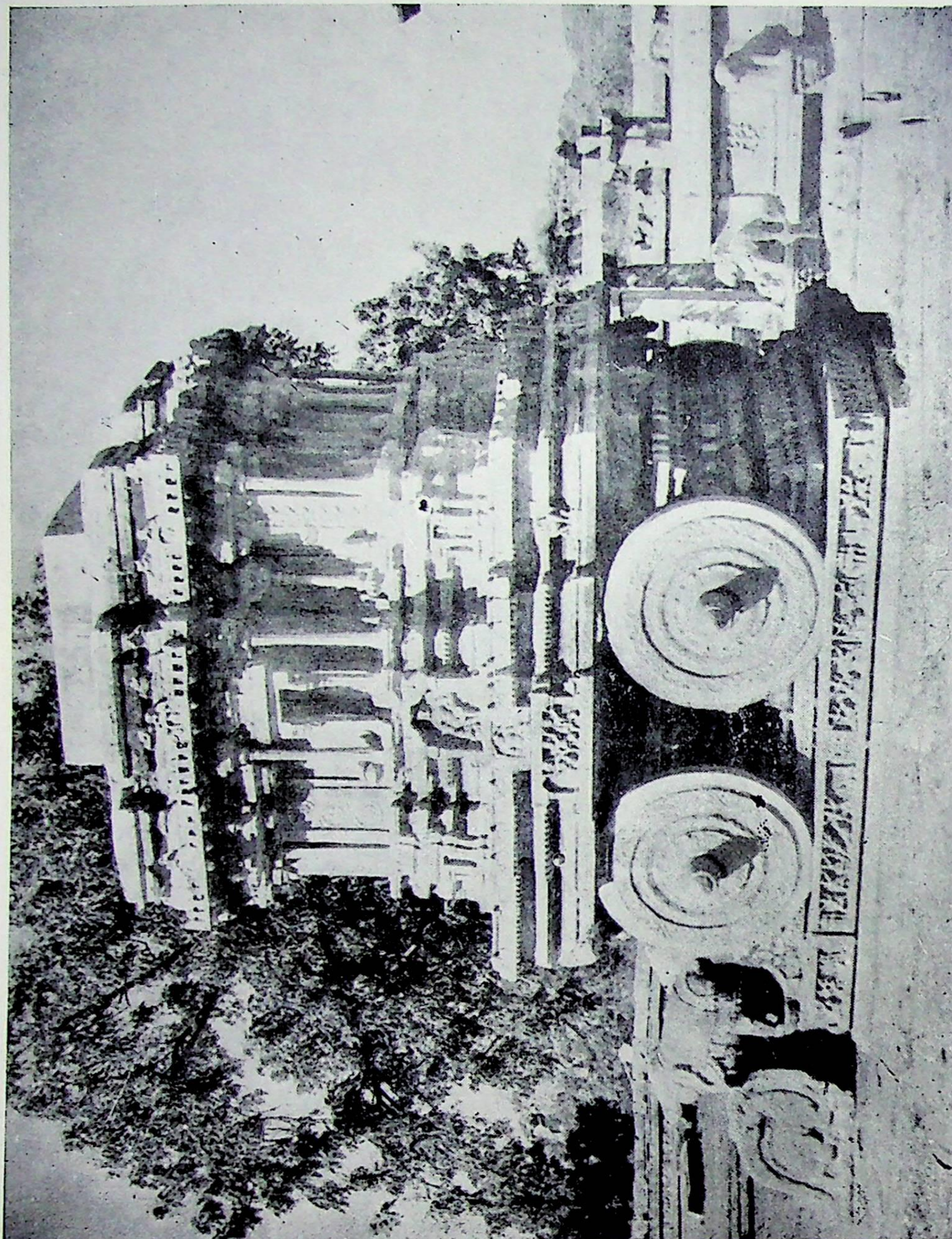










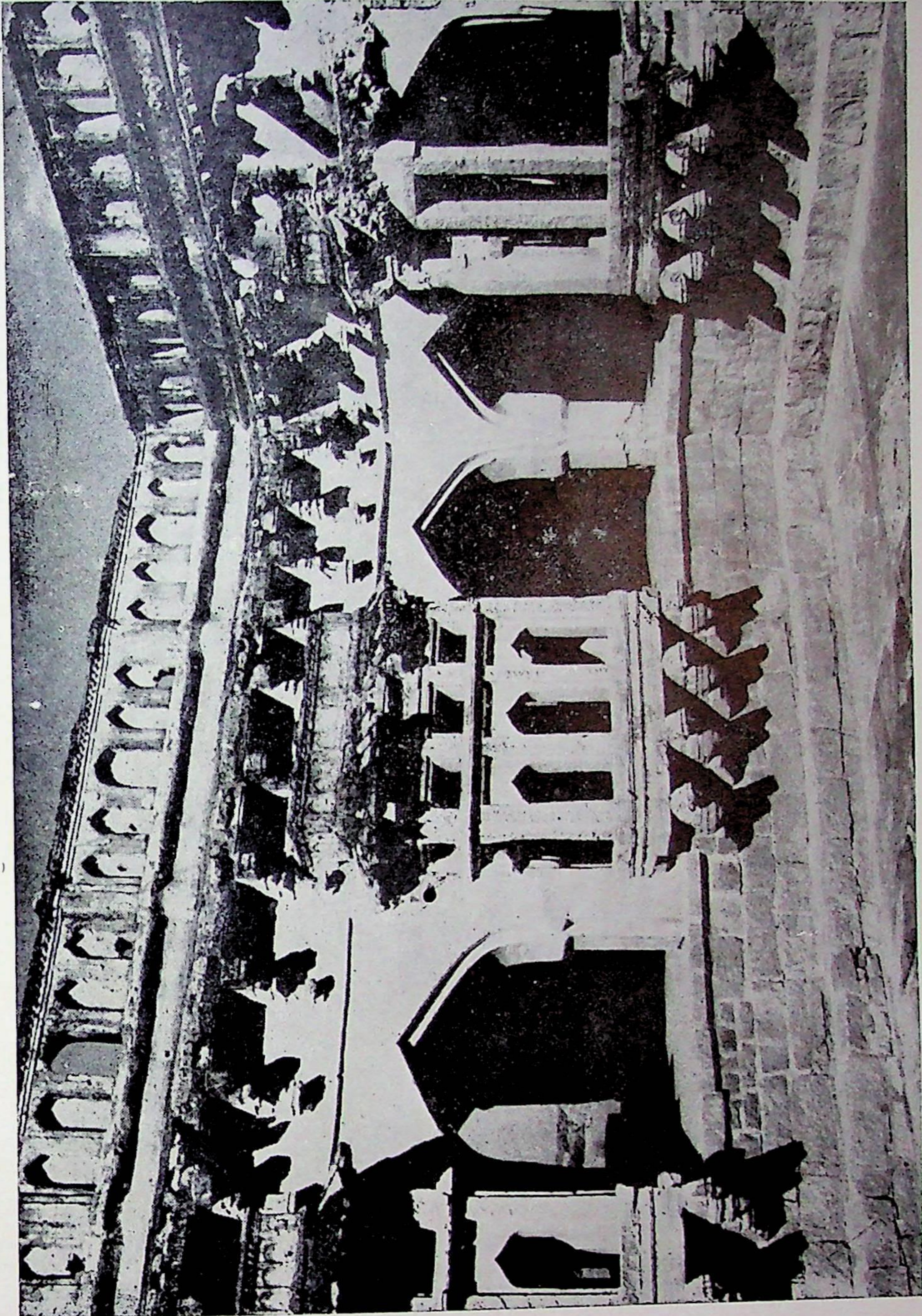




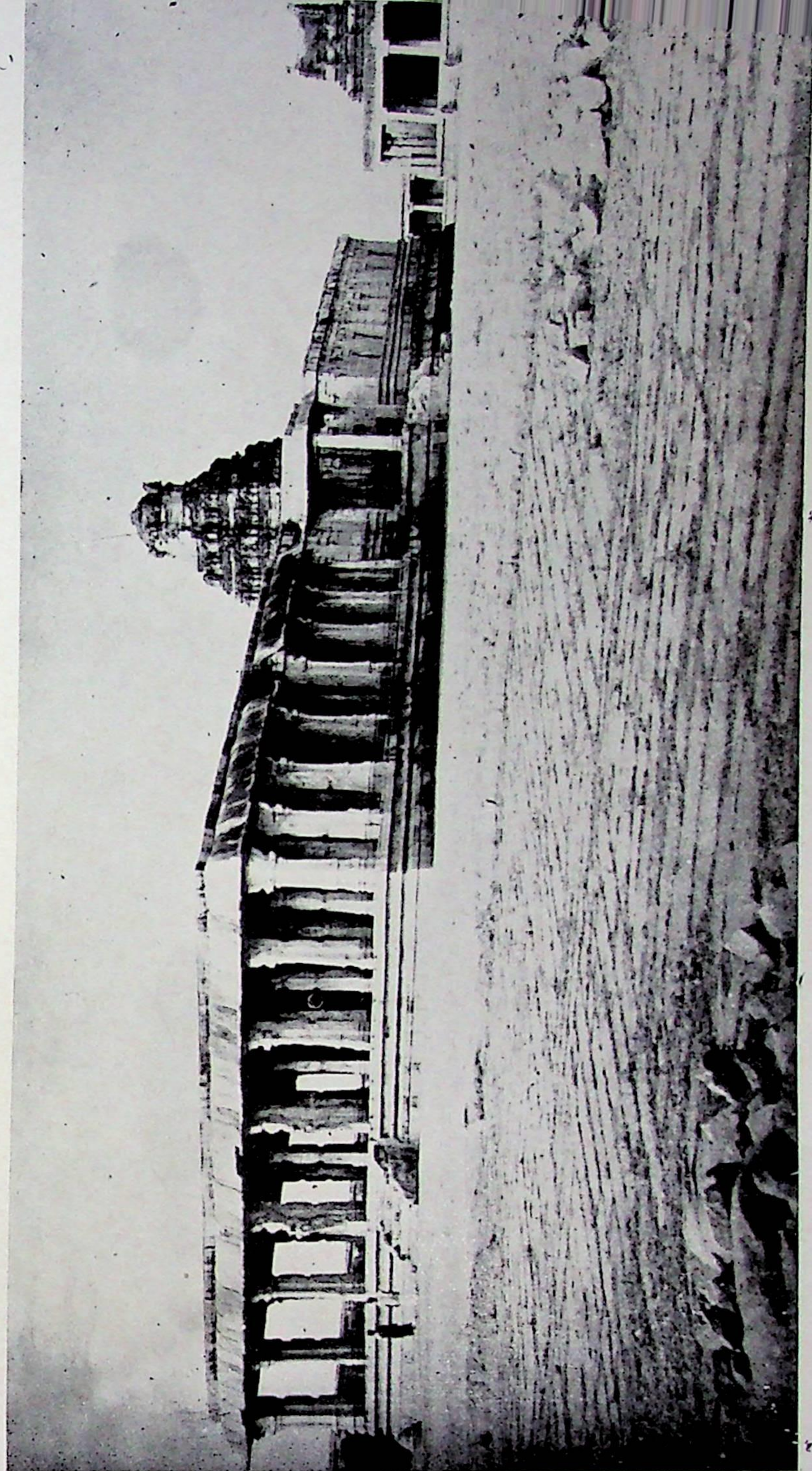










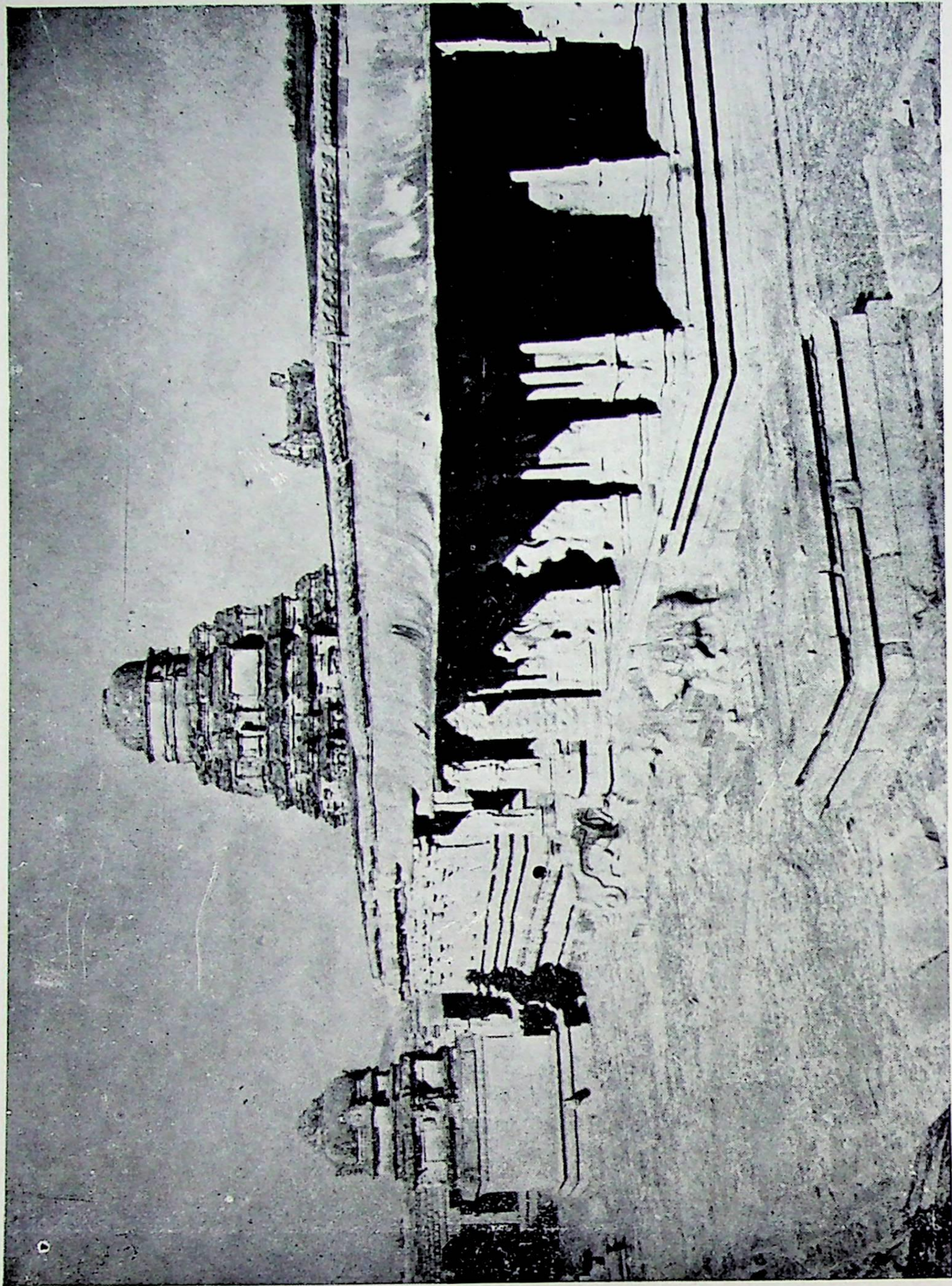










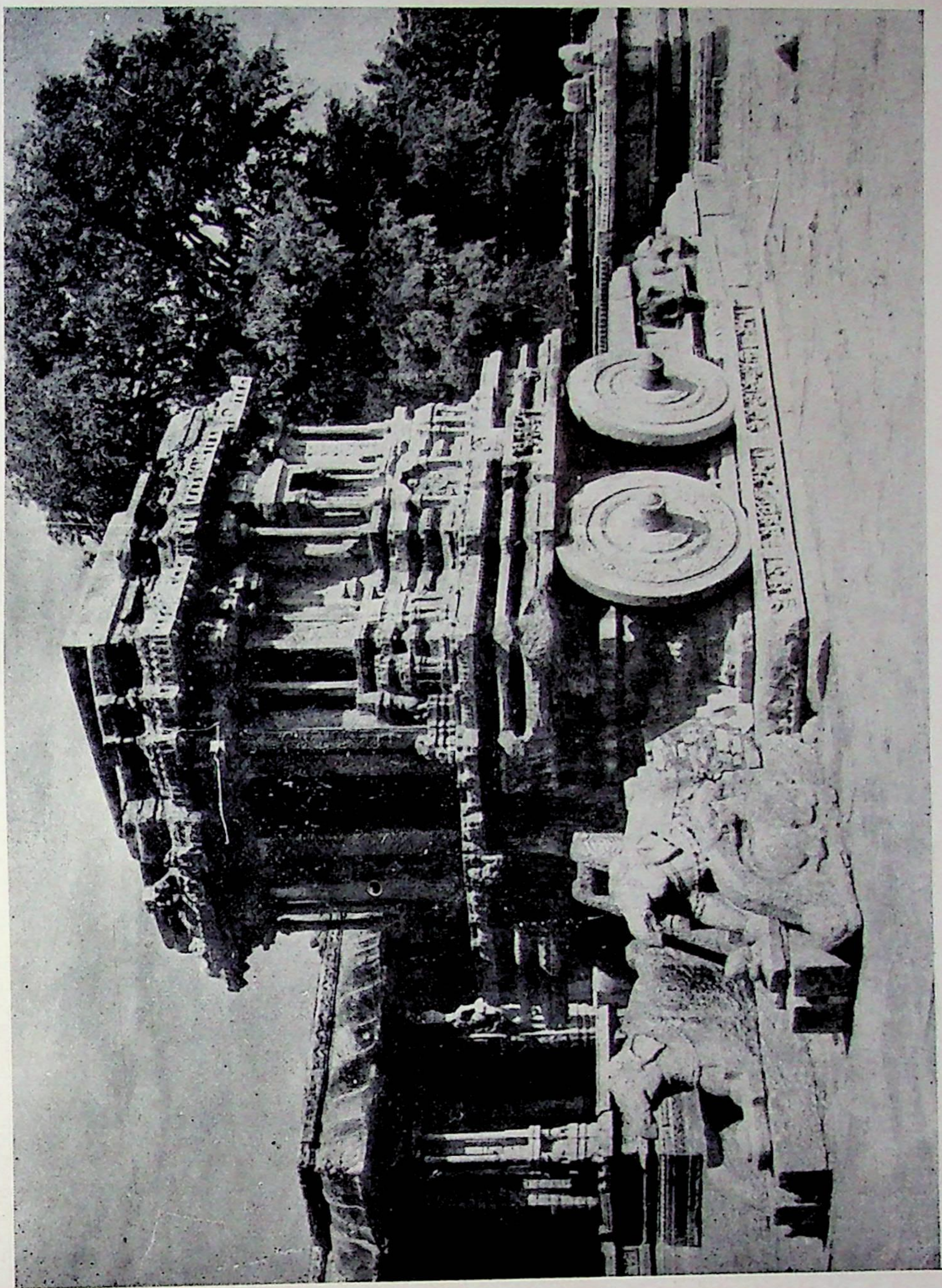






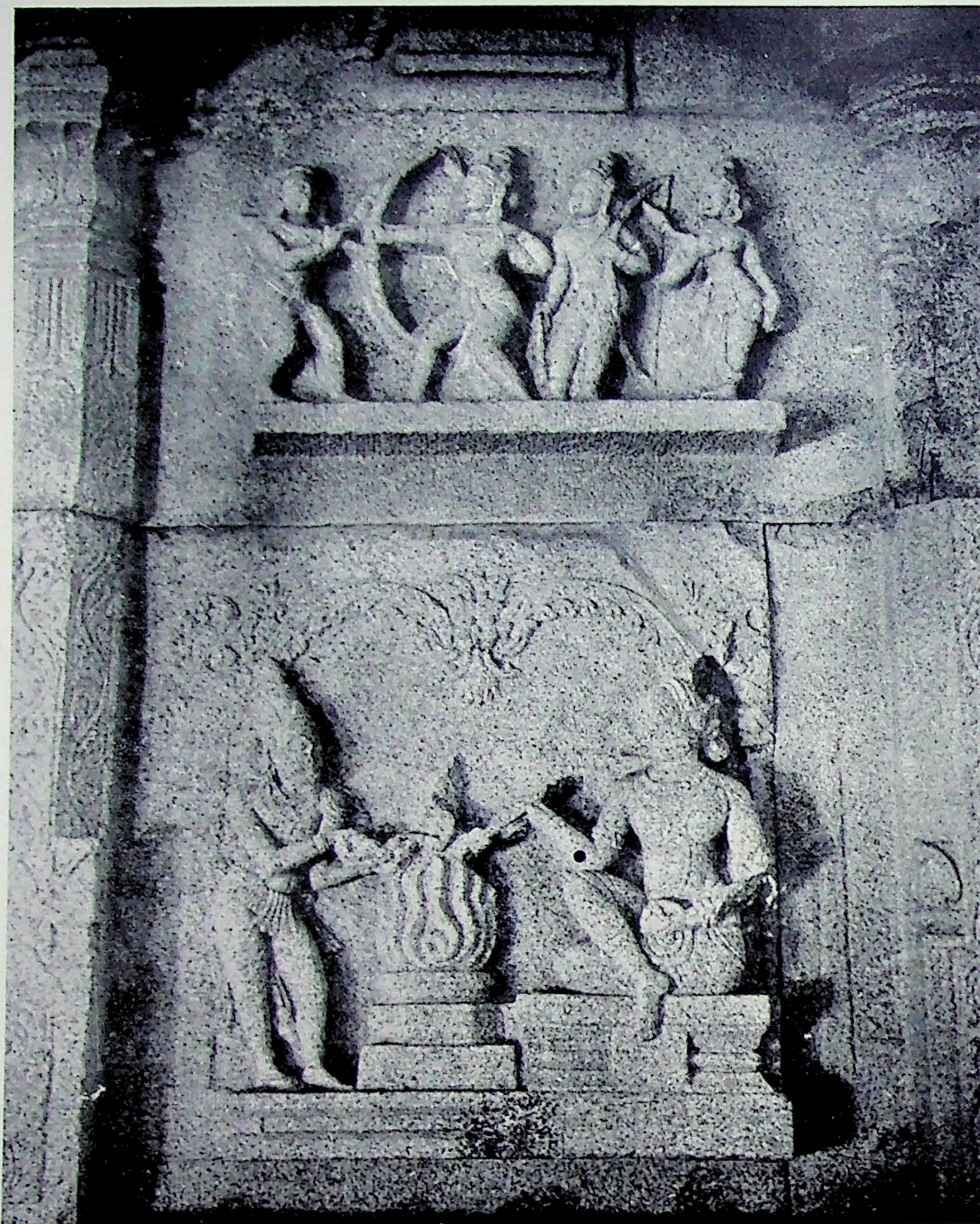












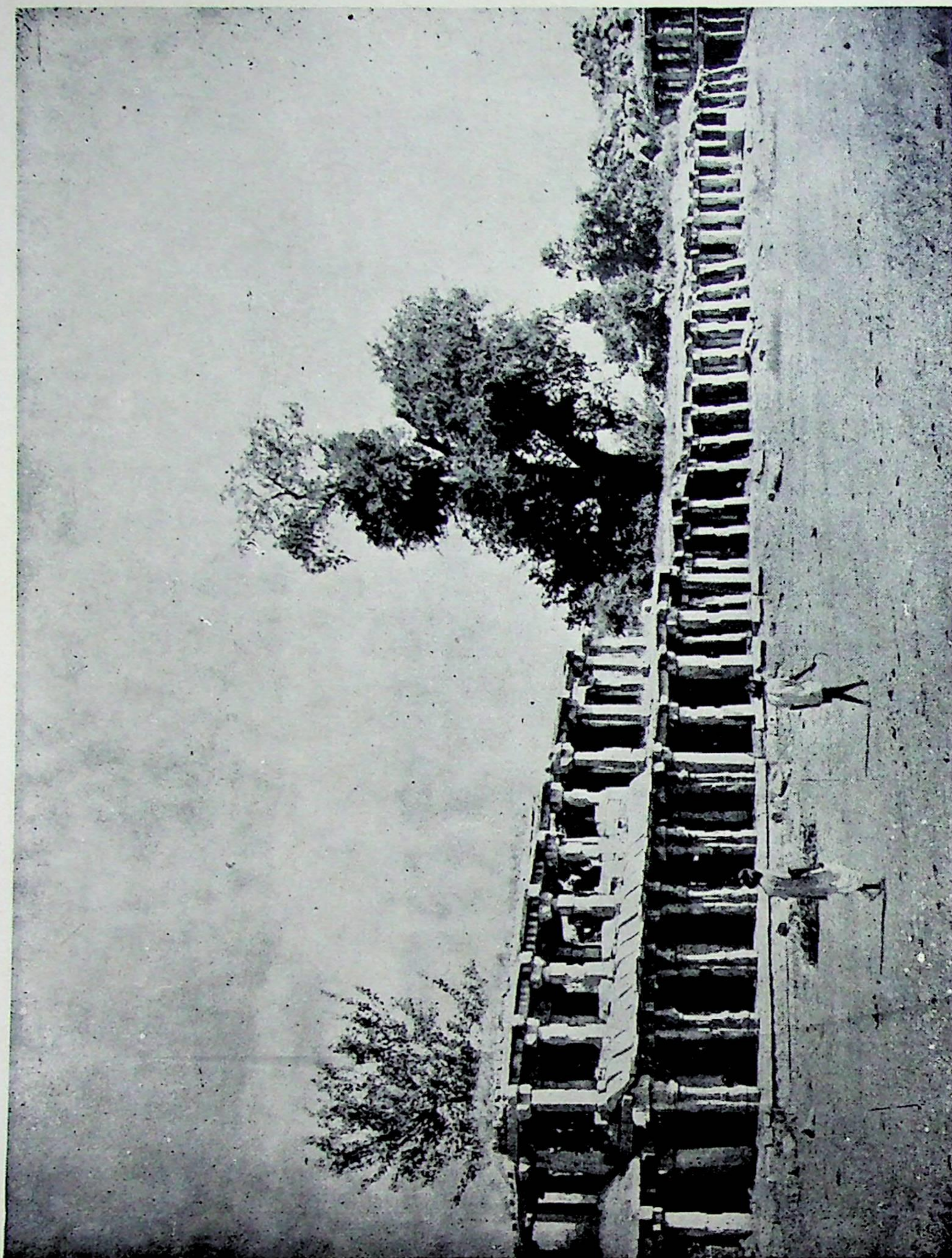


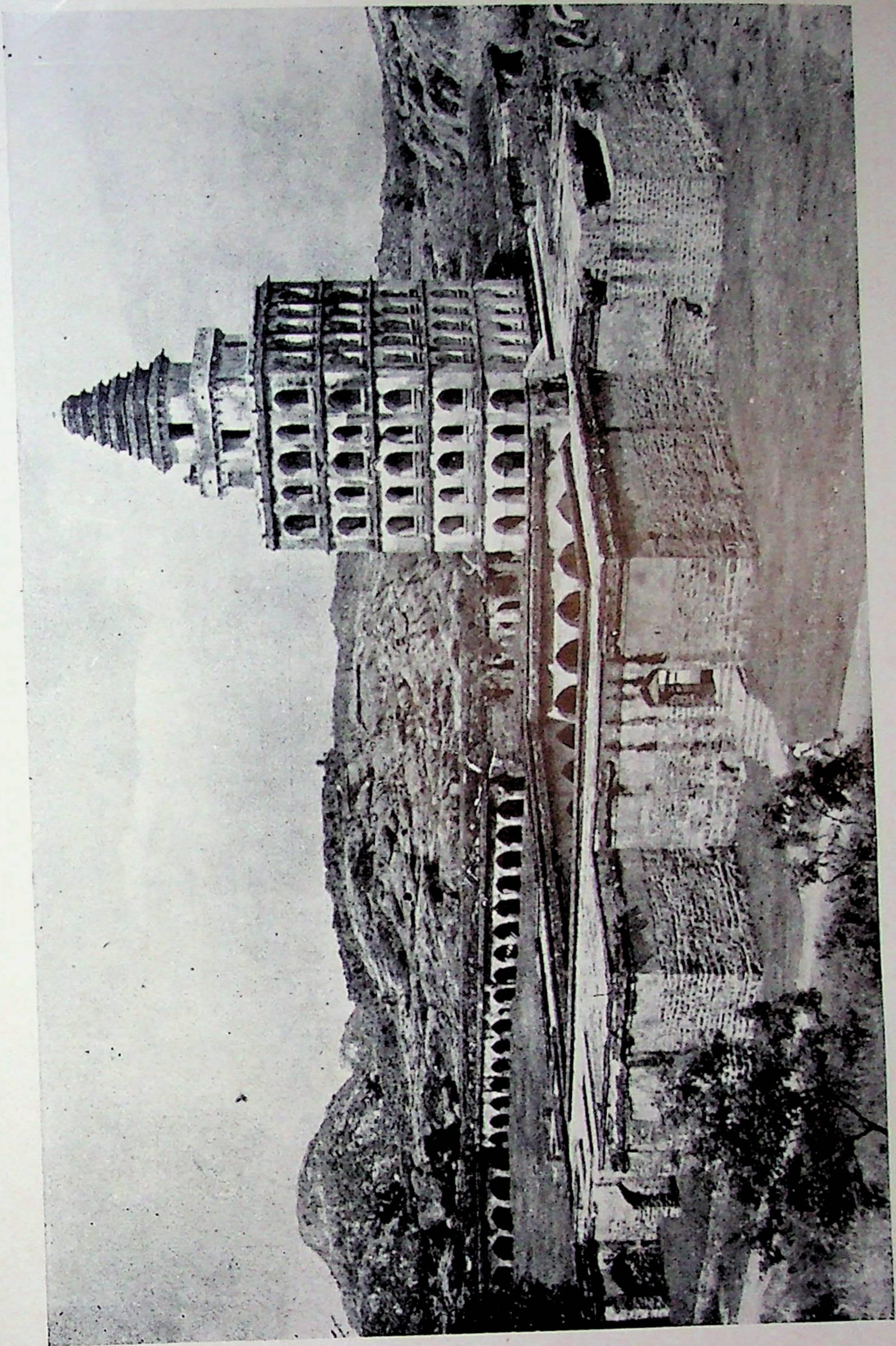


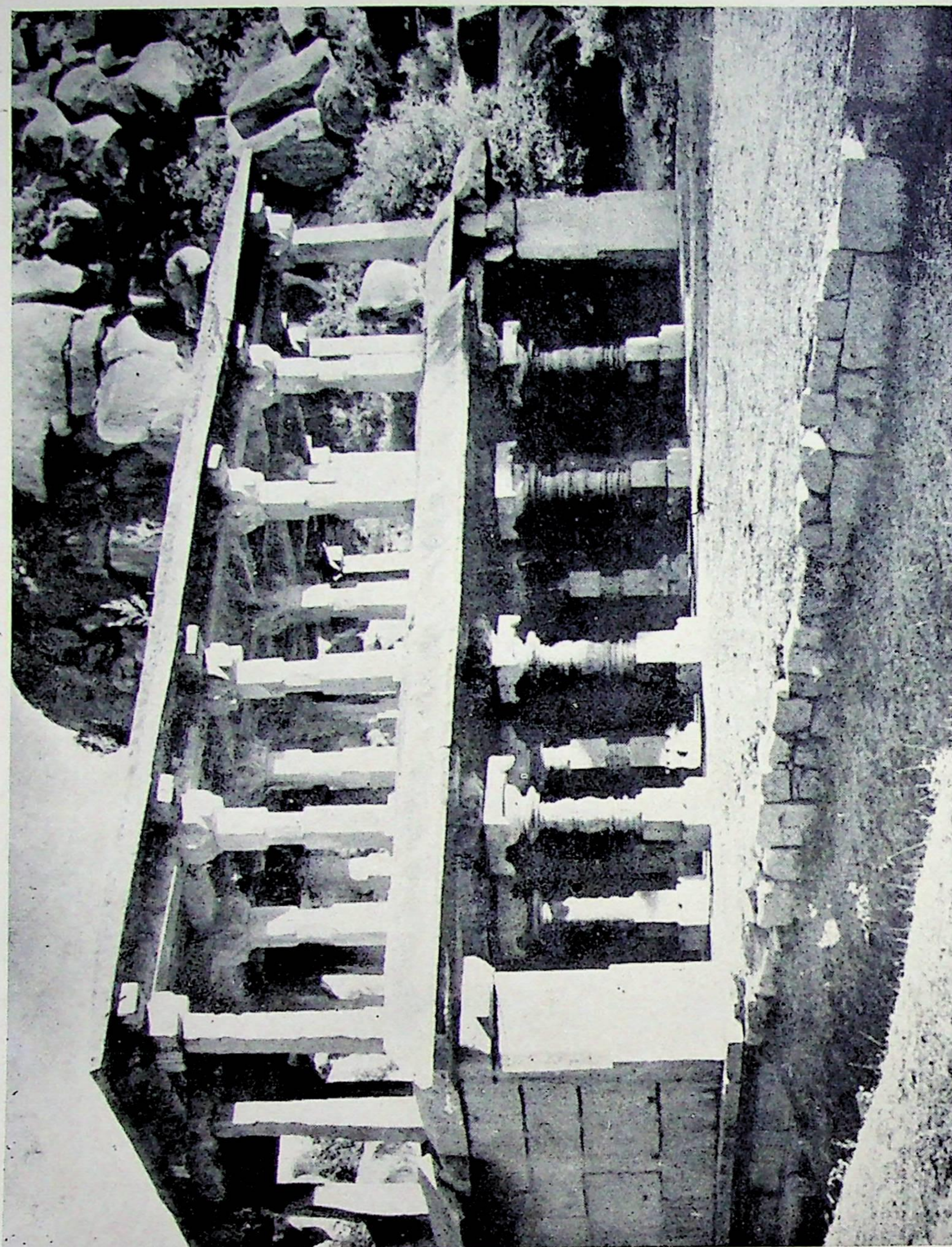


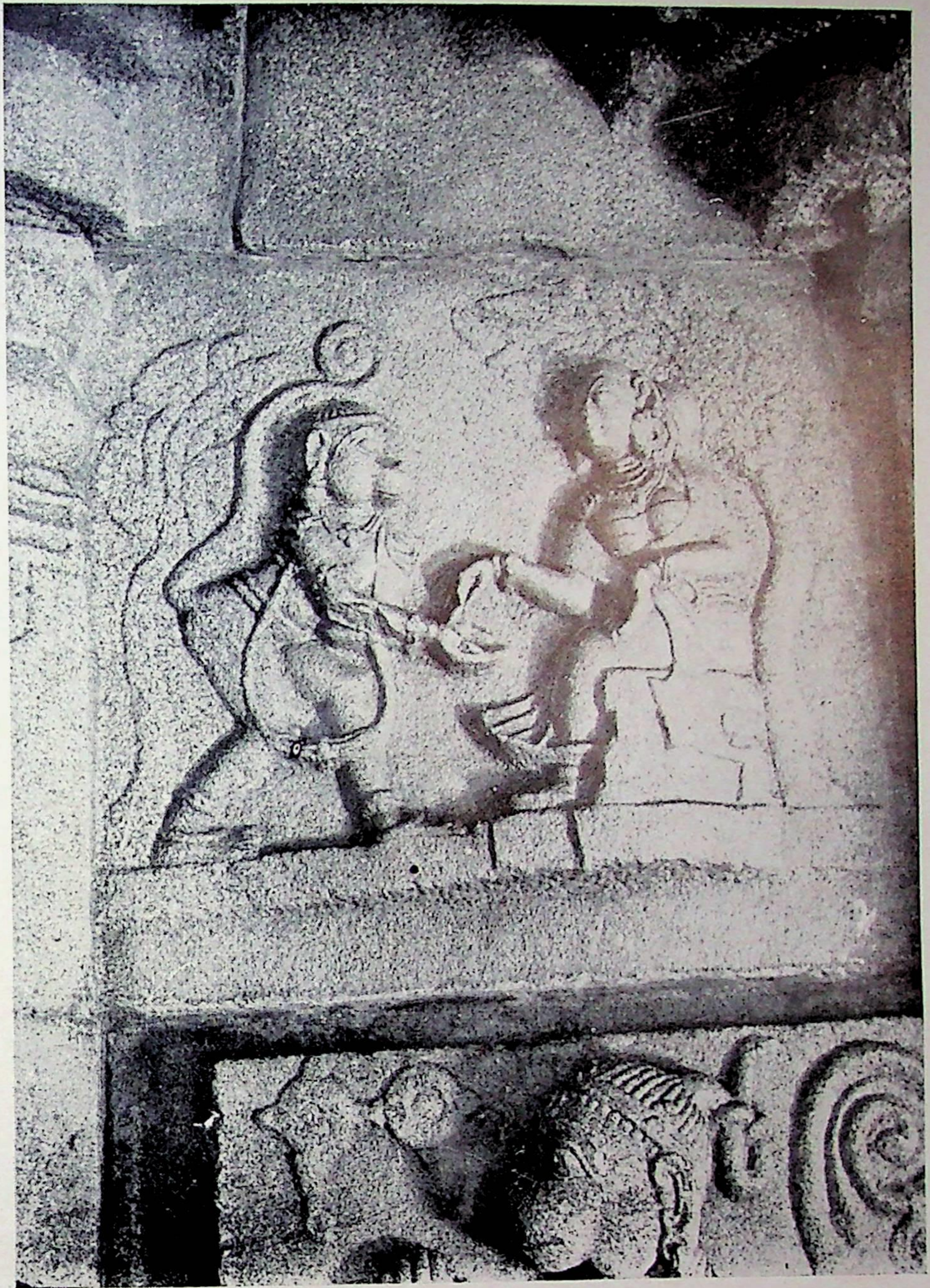


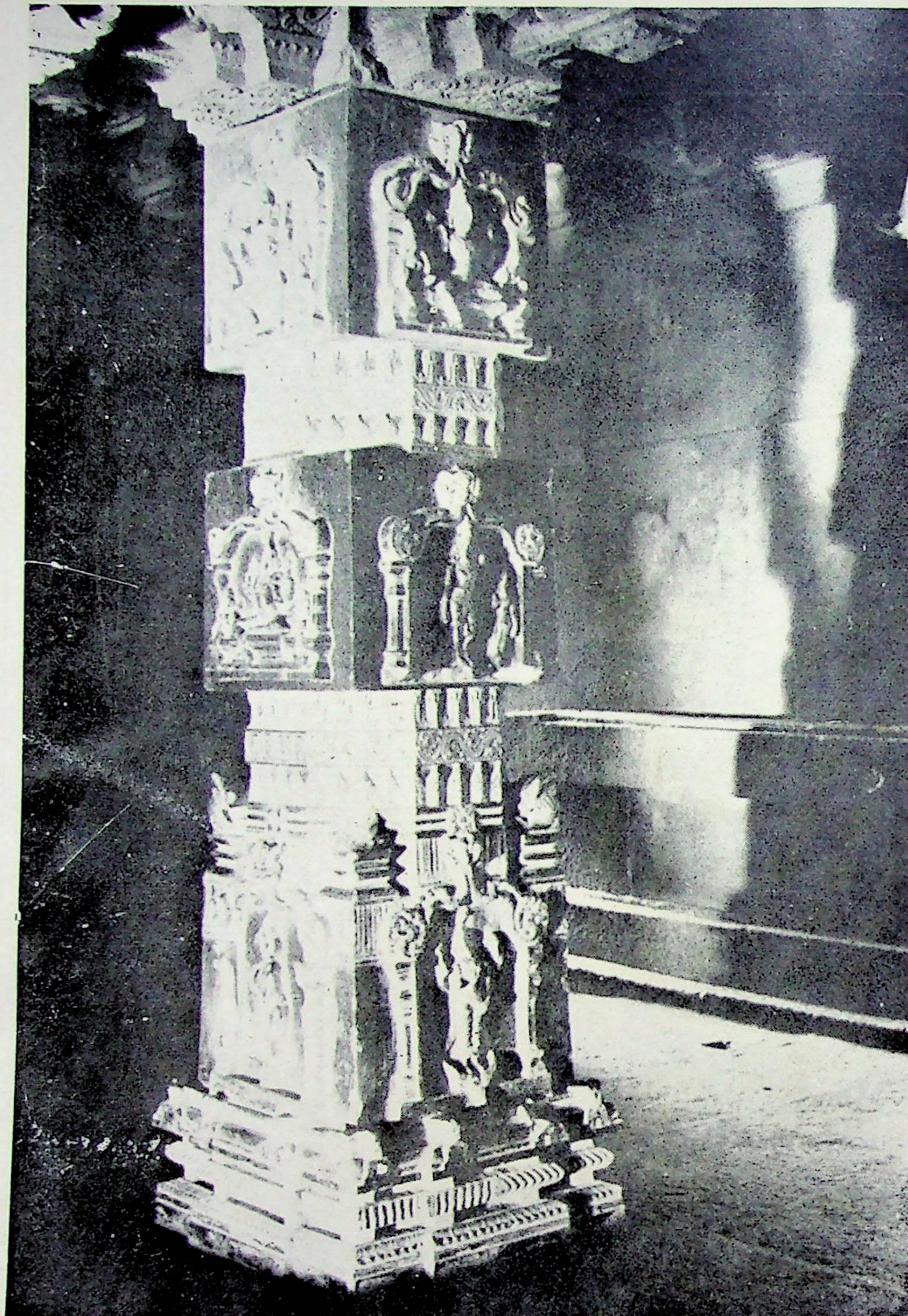


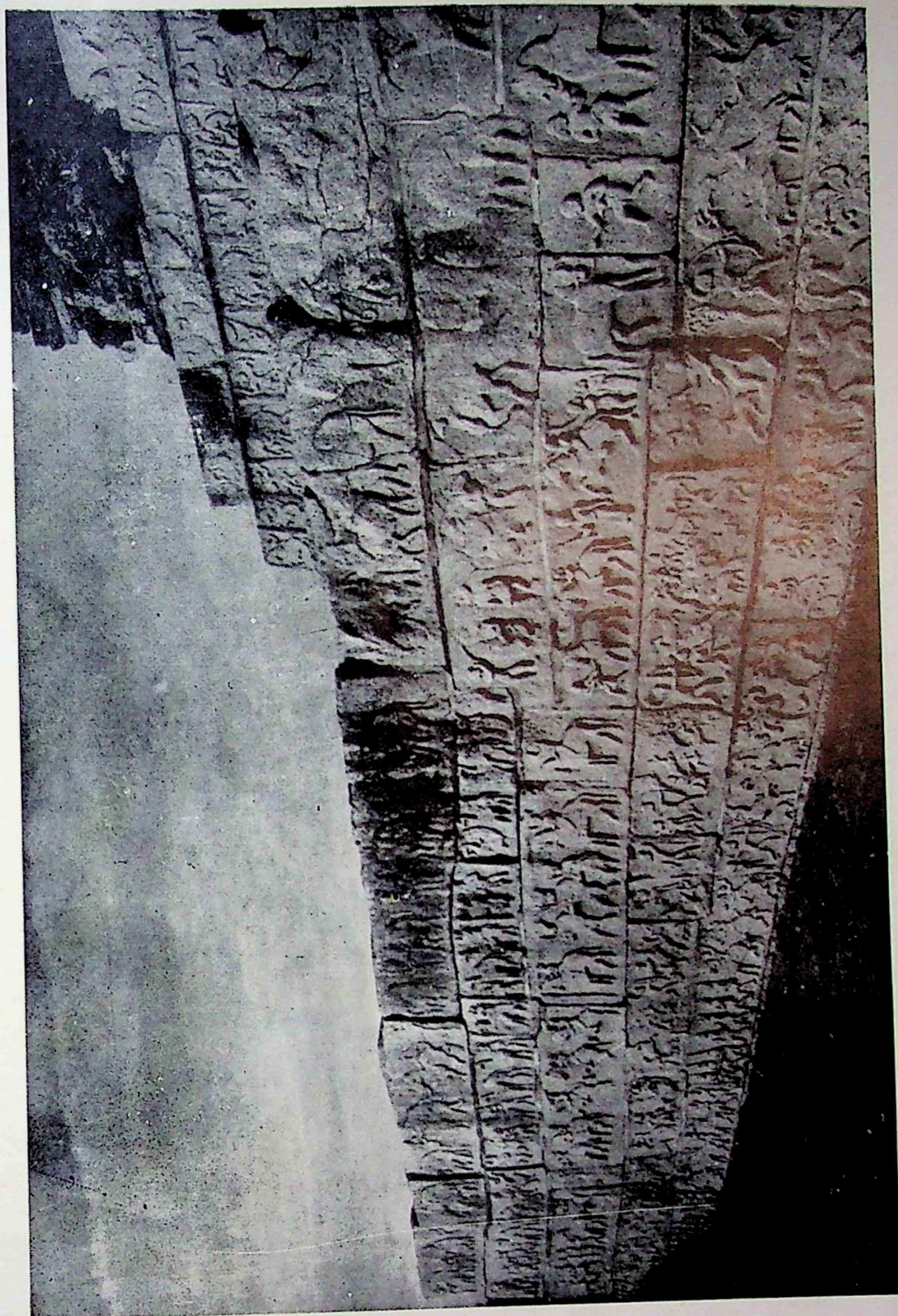


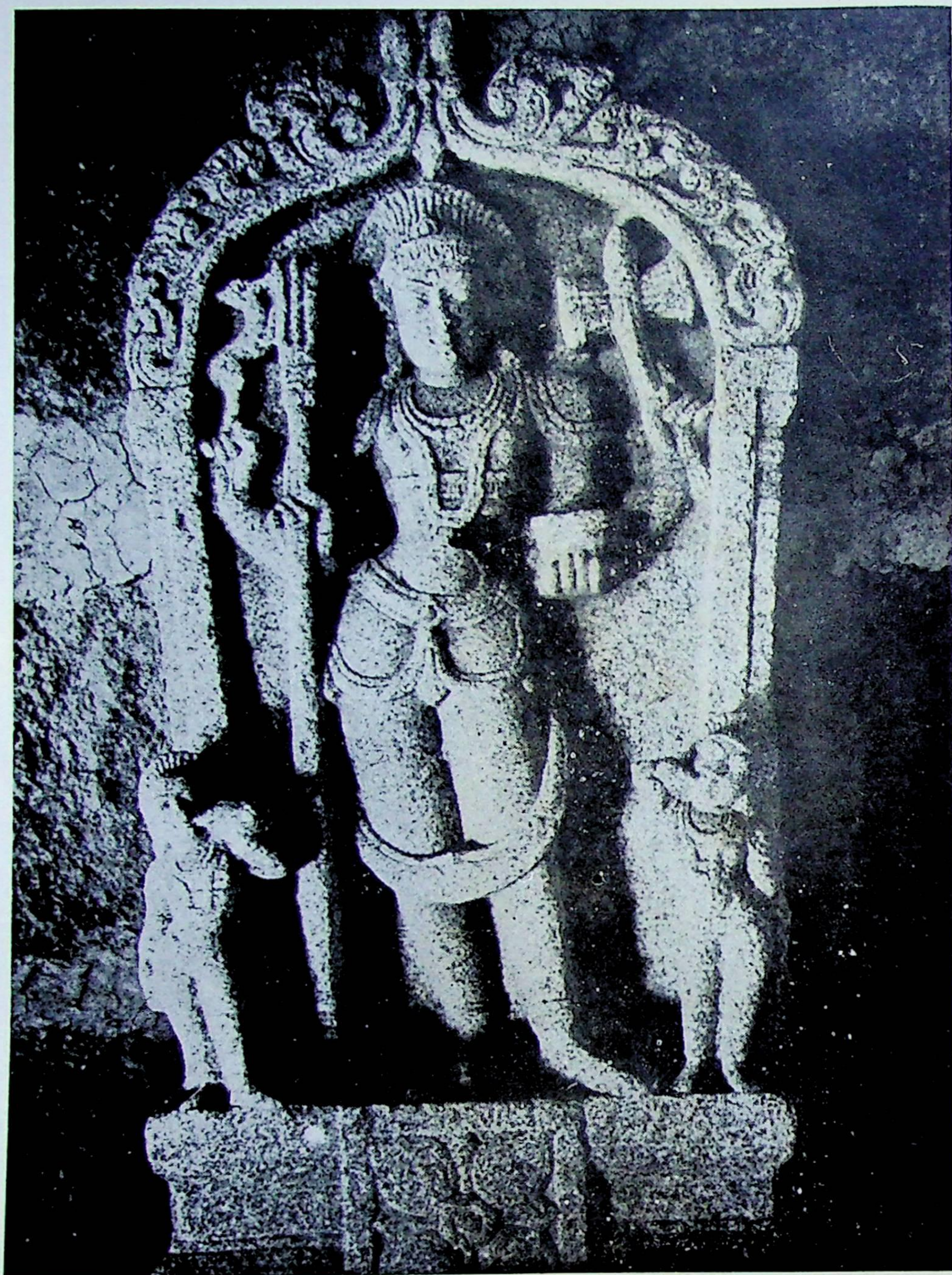














Sundeep Prakashan Delhi